



"If you had *resigned at that time* (on the 10th October, 1831), and told the people the King would not let you make the peers, as you must do at last, the King would have seen the great and instant impression produced upon the whole kingdom; and I have not the smallest doubt, that a successor to you would not have been appointed."—Cobbett's Letter to Lord Grey, Register, 19th November, 1831.

TO LORD GREY.

Kensington, 16th May, 1832.

MY LORD,

I BEG you to look at the above MOTTO. It was addressed to you, as you will perhaps remember, in November last. It was then matter of *opinion* with me: it is now matter of *history*. I do not bring it forward in the way of boasting of my sagacity; but with the hope of its tending to induce you to listen to the *advice* that I am about to offer you *now*: a *vain hope*, very likely; for with you, as with all your predecessors, to deem advice fit only to be rejected with scorn, it has been sufficient that that advice *came from me*. In numerous cases, as in this, my advice has been followed *at last*; but in no one case, any more than in this, until enormous mischief had arisen from not following it in time. Will all this experience be a warning to you now? No: pride and your parasites will not let you listen, though you have now escaped by a miracle. I, however, shall proceed in my old way; give my advice, foretell the consequences of its being rejected, and, when the consequences come, *laugh* at those by whom the advice has been despised, just as I *now laugh* at your rival, who has been discomfited, not by you, but by *the people*, and the people alone. I told him, when he

came into power, not to rely on his *military fame* (it was always a *cheat on us*) as a cover for any great political sins, which the devil of brass and folly might tempt him to commit; "for," said I, "adopt any measure that shall extensively affect the community, let that effect be deeply mischievous, and at once all the admiration of your generalship is swept away for ever; away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts."—*To Duke Wellington, Register, Vol. 65. Feb. 23, 1828.*

Now, my Lord, pray do not join your parasites, when they affect to laugh at the warning that I am about to give you. *To-day* you stand *high*; but, to stand *high to-morrow*, and to continue to stand high, you must act a just and a wise part; and to do this, you must begin by doing what you never yet did, that is, *think highly of the rights and of the power of the people*. The want of this way of thinking has been the bane of your administration, and, indeed, of your political life. Very numerous are the letters which, in print, I have addressed to you; and in hardly any one of them did I ever omit to tell you, that, *without the people at your back*, you never could have any real political power, and never long keep possession of place. Yet you have always acted as if you despised the very thought of relying upon the people for support. When you came into office, you denied that they had *any abstract right* to choose their representatives. You said, that they had a right to *good government*; and of course you were to be the judge of *what was good*. In moving for the second reading of the REFORM BILL the last time, you took *great merit* to yourself for having set "*popular clamour*" at nought. This tone and this disposition have been apparent in all your words and actions since you came into office. You wished the reform to take place, but you scorned the thought of

its being *the work of the people*. You had the ambition to be at once the master of the **TORIES** and of the **PEOPLE**; to put down the former by your talents, and the latter by your sword-bearing police; to suffer the former to keep, and to give to the latter, *just what you pleased*, and no more. "Oh, no!" said the **TORIES**, "you shall not master us *both* at any rate! If you do triumph over us, you shall, openly before all the world, owe your triumph to the people."

And thus it has been. There needs no argument, no narrative of facts to prove it, any more than there requires the use of such means to prove the existence of light and darkness. So great and famous a people cannot make such a movement as this people has made within the last seven days, without the perfect knowledge of its being made known to *the whole world*; and the whole world will now know; we, here, all know already; there is not a hedger, or ploughman, or woodman, living on the skirts of the wildest forest in England, who does not, at this very moment, know, and clearly understand, that you were *defeated* by the **LORDS**, that you were *abandoned* by the **KING**, and that only this day week you were as powerless as a baby two hours old, and would have continued as powerless, had it not been for the voluntary exertions of this spirited, virtuous, and sensible people. The history of this one week will for ever serve as an answer to those insolent beasts who talk of *the people as being nothing*; to those audacious plunderers who say that the people have nothing to do with the laws *but to obey them*. It was the people, the common people of France, who put down **POLIGNAC**, and drove out the tyrant **Bourbon**; and it is the people of England, and the people *only*, who have put down **STRATHFIELDSAY**. Our brethren in France have, indeed, thus far, been cheated out of the fruit of their victory; they were too confiding; they were betrayed; we shall not be; we shall keep the power in our own hands, and use it for our own deliverance from a state of oppression which we

have, as all people do, too long borne, and with too much patience; but which we shall *bear no longer*.

The history of the week, ending with this 16th day of May, would, to do it anything like justice, demand a bulky volume: to relate it to you would be impertinent; but my advice to you is to keep it *constantly in mind*, and never again to say, or to act as if you said, that you would *rule without the assent of the people*; for, if you again assume this tone and air, you are yet destined to come down. The people put you into power; the people have kept you there; and, if you again attempt to set them at defiance, you will become nothing; and nothing you ought to become. You will not believe it, I know; but you ought to believe, and to be thoroughly convinced of this fact, namely, that you owe, at this moment, a thousand times as much to our hatred of **STRATHFIELDSAY** as you owe to *our regard for you*. If your rival for power had been any one of several noblemen whom I could mention, and if *he* had expressed his readiness to give us as much as you had offered, the result would have been very different; for, observe, he would have stood before us unencumbered with the *Irish-tithe-coercion-law*, and uncharged with many, many other things, that rest on your head. If such a man had presented himself, though exhibiting a strong instance of political inconsistency, amounting, indeed, to something very much like political profligacy, should we, *should I*, for instance, have turned from him, and clung to you? To you, with *Hampshire*, and *Wiltshire*, and *Farmer Boyce*, and poor *Cook of Micheldever*, never to be effaced from my mind? Should I have called on my readers to force back into place him who had implanted in my mind the recollection of **BRISTOL** and **NOTTINGHAM**, where the sufferers had been urged on to acts of violence only such as he himself had represented to be the *natural effect* of the provocation which had been given them? Should I have called on my readers to pray the **King** to take back him who had, in the midst of profound peace, augmented the army

to the anti-jacobin-war standard, who had put *swords* into the hands of a Bourbon-like police, who had prosecuted men *for walking the streets* in the most peaceable manner, and who had drawn troops round us in every direction, and had told the Lords, in your reply in the second-reading debate, that *whatever might be their decision*, it was your *determination to keep the peace of the country*? Should I, who had witnessed in you a determination to uphold the tithes and all the rest of the establishment by force; I, who had heard your honest and frank colleague, Lord ALTHORP, promise that the measure for *extinguishing tithes in Ireland* should *accompany the measure* for enforcing the payment of tithes now due, and had seen that promise broken; should I have called on my readers to put you back into power, if a rival had offered, uncharged with what I deem your offences, and ready to yield to us as much as you had offered to yield? Certainly not! and, whatever you may think of the matter, my feelings and my motive of action were those of the whole nation. We forgot none of your language or of your acts; but, when your rival was *Wellington*, it was *drawing the sword upon us*, and we, like the Israelites, *flew to our tents*!

This is the true history of the matter, and, if you be wise, you will so consider it, and will act accordingly; and if you do act accordingly, you will,

1. Drop at once the *haughty tone* which you have held towards us, remembering that true dignity of character never yet was found in that man who was supple towards the powerful (as you have been) and "*vigorous*" towards the feeble.
2. To rely upon the good will of the people for support, and *acknowledge that you do rely upon that*.
3. To cease to be the rigid and severe Minister, and propose and adopt none but mild measures.
4. To take steps for bringing back, and pardoning, the hundreds of country labourers who have been sent into slavery beyond the seas, by the Special Commissions.

5. To put an end to the *Poor-law Commission*, with STURGES BOURNE at the head of it.

6. To hasten the passing of the Reform Bill, and to cause it to be brought into operation without any impediment raised by you, or winked at by you.

These are amongst the things which, if you be wise, you will now do; and then the nation will be *grateful to you*; and, for my own part, I repeat what I have many times said; namely, that it will please me to see you continue to be Prime Minister as long as your life and health will permit it; but, if you do not do these things, and especially the *fourth*, I shall always detest you, shall always rejoice at seeing you humbled, and, as far as I can do it without risk of injury to my country, shall always endeavour to humble you.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER,

On the Events of the last Week.

Bolt Court, May 17, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

It will be out of my power to give you a full account of the events of *the last seven days*, which exceed in importance all the events that have taken place *in the last hundred years*, because they will decide, not only the fate of *our liberties*, but that of the liberties of *all Europe*. The eyes of the whole world have been upon us for now more than *twenty months*; the despots have been looking at us with dread, and their oppressed subjects with hope: both have been alternately elevated and depressed: the former will now despair and the latter will exult. Famed throughout the world for our wealth, our industry, our integrity, our morality, and wielding power so great, our *example* has always been powerful; and, great God! what must now be the effect of that example! How the good and cheated fellows of Paris will rejoice to hear of our conduct, and of its result!

To give a full account of the

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ceedings of the week, is out of my power, but it is necessary that I put the principal facts upon record, and particularly with regard to the dates. On the 7th of May, as you have already been informed, Lord Grey put a stop to the proceedings of the bill, finding that it must either be lost or taken out of his hands, unless there were a great creation of peers. On Tuesday morning he went to the King and proposed such creation, and, the King having refused to make the peers, Grey and Brougham, who went with him, tendered the resignation of their offices, of which the King accepted on the ninth, in the fore part of the day; and it was soon understood that Wellington was to be Prime Minister, with such a set of colleagues as he might get together. The alarm which this excited in London, it is impossible for any man to describe. The common council of the City instantly met, and petitioned the House of Commons to grant no further supplies until the Reform Bill should be passed. As quickly as the intelligence could fly, this very laudable example was followed all over the country; and, so quick were the movements of the people, that on Friday, the 11th of May, there were deputations in London, bringing up petitions and remonstrances from Birmingham and Manchester, of which latter I shall have to say more by-and-by.

To describe the agitation in London, and the anger of the people against the Lords, the Bishops, Wellington, and particularly against the King, is a task that no tongue or pen can perform. Every man you met seemed to be convulsed with rage: to refuse to pay taxes was amongst the mildest of the measures that were proposed at the several meetings: the language of the newspapers, especially with regard to the King, Queen, and divers members of the Royal family, was such as to make one doubt the evidence of one's senses, and yet it was a very inadequate representation of what was issuing from people's mouths. A cry for a republic was pretty nearly general; and an emigration to

Hanover formed the subject of a popular and widely-circulated caricature. Resistance in every shape and form was publicly proposed; and, amongst the means intended to defeat the King and the new Minister, was that most effectual of all means, *a run upon the Bank for gold!* which, on Saturday, the 12th of May, was recommended in a placard, posted up all over London in the following words: "To stop the Duke, go for gold." On Sunday, the 13th, an incident took place at one of the churches, which will show to what an extent the public rage had extended. The Bishop of Lichfield, whose name is Ryder, and who is a brother of that Lord Harrowby who has made himself so conspicuous in his opposition to the Reform Bill, was to preach a charity sermon at the parish church of St. Bride, which is in the very heart of the city of London. The account of his reception there, and of his treatment by the people, I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th of May, in the following words:

We should state, it is always customary for the Lord Mayor to attend in state. The nomination of the Bishop to preach the sermon did not give general satisfaction to the parishioners, and numerous placards of an unpleasant nature were yesterday in circulation, and indeed, several were exhibited containing advice to send the bishop to Coventry, and inviting the parishioners to quit the church as soon as the Bishop ascended the pulpit. Perhaps, however, it would have been prudent, in the present excited state of the public mind, if the authorities had postponed the sermon till a more quiet period. A large crowd assembled in Fleet-street, and the avenues leading to the church, between ten and eleven o'clock, and was subsequently much increased—so much so, that the respectable inhabitants, particularly the females, found much difficulty in entering the church. Upon the arrival of the Lord Mayor, his Lordship was received with loud and continued plaudits. He was accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, but upon the pious Prelate's carriage making its appearance, the most horrid yells were uttered, and some mud was thrown at the carriage. It was with great difficulty the Bishop succeeded in reaching the vestry-room, from whence he was escorted by the parish functionaries, and a large body of police to his seat in the church, which was now filled with a dense mass of persons, while the crowd outside greatly increased. Much alarm was painted in the countenances of many of the fair sex,

several of whom quitted the church long before the conclusion of the sermon. The Bishop was evidently much agitated when he entered the pulpit. In the course of the sermon he appeared much recovered, until a tremendous shout from the mob outside, and an evident movement from the side aisle within the church, again appeared to affect the Bishop's nerves. At the conclusion of the sermon, after waiting some short time, the Bishop, with some difficulty, owing to the pressure of the crowd, joined the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, and proceeded under their protection and the great activity of the police, down the middle aisle of the church; but as soon as he reached the outer part, the crowd, which was very great, began to applaud the Lord and Lady Mayoress, until perceiving the Bishop made part of the *cortege*, they set up most tremendous groans and shouts, and immediately a rush was made to seize the Bishop, and his life was certainly in no little peril from the angry and vindictive conduct of the mob, both within and without the church. The Lord Mayor, with great quickness and dexterity, and we may add with much humanity, seized the Bishop by the arm, and placed him before him, while Cope, the Marshal, and the City police formed a side guard, by which means the Bishop was enabled to escape into the vestry room. He appeared dreadfully agitated, and, after some time, requested to accompany the Lord Mayor in his state carriage, but the Lady Mayoress being present, and it never being customary for any other person but officers attached to his suite to ride with his lordship, the offer was politely declined. Word being brought that the crowd had somewhat dispersed, the Lord Mayor's carriage was ordered to be drawn up, and the Bishop's to follow quite close. His Lordship and the Lady Mayoress were loudly greeted by the thousands who had now assembled, and considerable apprehension was felt for the safety of the Bishop, but the blinds of the carriage being up, doubts arose if he had left the church, and the coachman using considerable dexterity in forcing the horses through the crowd, and Cope, the City Marshal, being outside the carriage, the Bishop escaped amidst the horrid yells and imprecations of the crowd, who followed the carriage as far as Temple Bar.

In the House of Commons, on the 15th of May, Mr. Alderman WALTHAM, for some reason, known I dare say to his wise self, but wholly incomprehensible to me, took upon himself to assert, that this treatment of the Bishop *was not the work of the reformers*; and that the reformers had nothing at all to do with it; whereat the sublime Mr. LITTLETON, Member for Staffordshire, expressed his exceeding delight, saying that he knew the Bishop to be as good

a man as ever lived in the world. If these gentlemen ever eat porridge, they might have kept their breath for the purpose of cooling it, for, while the Alderman has not found a man in the kingdom to believe that any but sincere reformers did this thing, Mr. LITTLETON will have a vast deal to do to prove that as good a man as any in the world was as bitter enemy of parliamentary reform. The fact is, that this narrative of the *Chronicle* is far short of the truth. My house at Bolt-court is within a hundred yards of St. Bride's Church. I know not only that the reformers did the work, but that these reformers are, too, the principal persons of the parish of St. Bride. I was told by a gentleman who was present, that many persons struck the Bishop with the crowns of their hats as he went along the aisle of the church; and that the constables formed a sort of arch over him, to protect him from the blows aimed at his head. The Lord Mayor provided for his *own safety* when he refused the Father-in-God a place in his coach, it being evident, that, if he had admitted him into the coach, the coach, which is glass all around, would have been dashed to pieces, himself and his wife along with it. It was with great difficulty that the Bishop was got with whole bones into his own coach, at the bottom of which he couched down until it had got away out of the reach of the people.

I shall not stop to make reflections on this transaction, having nothing to do but with the facts; but it is quite necessary that they should be known and recorded.

The day before this took place, the King and Queen came to town from Windsor; and of their treatment by the people the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th gives us the following account:

The Court Circular having announced that their Majesties would come to town on Saturday, the popular feeling had an opportunity presented for displaying itself, which was seized with extraordinary avidity. At a quarter-past twelve o'clock, the royal carriage in which their Majesties were seated, without attendants, reached the village of Hounslow, where it was joined by an escort of about

twenty of the 9th Lancers. The postilions passed on at a rapid rate till they entered the town of Brentford; where the people, who had assembled in great numbers, expressed, by groans, hisses, and exclamations, their disapprobation of his Majesty's conduct with respect to the administration. The escort kept close together, and it is probable that they protected their Majesties from insult, as it is alleged that *pieces of mud were flung towards the carriage*. Along the whole of the road to London the people continued to express their feelings of dissatisfaction. When the carriage entered the Park, it proceeded at a very rapid rate towards the Palace, amidst the hisses, mingled with a few occasional cheers, of the crowds assembled to receive it. His Majesty leaned back, but the Queen *sat forward*, with her face towards the right-side window, and appeared to be *wholly unconcerned* at the groaning and hissing which proceeded from the people.

That the people should behave in this manner is not at all surprising, when we look at the language of the newspapers, which have now been at work for several days, attacking the King in as rough a manner as it was possible to attack him by words. As a specimen of these attacks, take the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of this same 14th of May. Talk of libels indeed; talk of the sacred person of a King; talk of an Attorney-General to prosecute libels! here are libels indeed! In one of them, too, my name is inserted, as that of a person who has given his countenance, or rather his assistance, in the putting forth of these intolerable libels. How many a man has groaned out his life in jail for publishing libels not a thousandth part so wicked as these, which, as every one must see, is little short of a direct invitation to the people to drive the King from his throne, and to destroy the kingly government for ever! I will here insert these libels; and when I have so done, you will not wonder that the treasonable cry for a *republic* should have become so general. It will be perceived that my name is introduced into one of these libels, upon which I shall have to remark, and also upon another passage or two, when I have inserted the libels themselves. You will please to observe, that I copy these libels from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th of May.

LIBEL, No. 1.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR,—The shameful parts of monarchy, as that obscene renegade Philpotts would say, ought to be concealed. The *by-blows* of a king ought not to be his body-guard. Can anything be more indecent than the entry of a sovereign into his capital with *one bastard riding before*, and *another by the side of his carriage*? The impudence and rapacity of the FITZJORDANS is unexampled, even in the annals of Versailles and Madrid. The demands made upon the person of their *poor, weak, and drivelling begetter* are incessant. On the slightest demur, the insult and reproaches heaped upon his wretched head (by the eldest of the brood especially) are not to be described. In this they are abetted by HER whom *Cobbett* calls "THE NASTY GERMAN FROW."

As long as the machinations of this crew of Harpies only affected the private peace and domestic comfort of their unhappy parent, I cared not to interfere; but when they have the audacity to defile with their unclean touch, the *Charter of our new-born freedom*, and attempt to strangle by their illegitimate hands the lawful expectations of the people of England, their sordid depravity shall be exposed to the world. Are the destinies of this great country, indeed, to be at the mercy of these *vagabonds, male and female*? The reports of these intrigues are quite sickening. Their instruments, too, in effecting their object—a *bankrupt, unprincipled adventurer*, who has long lived on, and connived at the to a madman! an ignorant, hard-hearted soldier, whose occupation even now, when his hollow cheeks, wasted form, and vacant grin of superannuated idiocy, ought to warn him of the inutility, as well as folly of such attempts, is to be *Sultan of his Dowager Seraglio*; who is as fitted to be minister in point of intellect, as the most uneducated of those brave troops, who, by their valour, won for him his reputation, his title, and his inordinate pensions, and whose lives he ever mercilessly sacrificed with wanton recklessness, in sieges and retreats, *feeding his hounds on their miserable rations*, whilst they were starving, and filling the ditches of fortresses with their bodies, that he might walk safely over the bloody and mangled pile.

These, then, Englishmen, are the creatures that betray you. These are the instruments through whom they would rule you—would plunder you—would reduce you to their own level of moral degradation and infamy, and make you objects of pity and contempt to the lowest scene-shifter on that stage from whence they derived their being and their principles.

Will you submit to this disgraceful yoke? I pause for an answer.

JUNIUS.

LIBEL, No. 2.

Nothing can be more shameless than the tactics of certain left-handed branches of an

illustrious family, in their systematic and persevering attempts to misrepresent the conduct of the late administration. By whom were they elevated to distinctions, *which were refused them by the Duke of Wellington?* and for what reasons, have they turned upon those, who made themselves responsible for the indulgence of their royal parents' feelings towards them, in placing them on a level in society with the nobility and gentry of the country? We have heard it reported, that Lord Munster has always given a hesitating and reluctant vote on the different stages of the Reform Bill—that soon after its first introduction, he quarrelled with his father, to whom he has been only pleased to be reconciled since Lord Grey's removal from office. Was this difference caused by a refusal to create him *Duke of Clarence*, or by the impossibility of complying with insatiable demands for money—or by his enmity to reform? But, to whatever cause it is to be ascribed, we counsel him to be circumspect in his conversations and conduct. The eyes of the public are upon the whole family, and the people will not brook their interference in the affairs of this nation. Upon what grounds and authority does he venture to assert in society that *no promise was made by his Majesty* to his late Ministers, to create any number of peers which the exigency of the case might require, to carry the Reform Bill? We dare him to the proof of his assertion. He is either ignorant, or he is guilty of gross misrepresentation—we have too much charity to believe the latter; and if his anti-reforming zeal on this occasion is prompted by ignorance, he should without delay consult Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, or *his friend* the Duke of Wellington, who has now access to WRITTEN DOCUMENTS on this subject.

Will the public believe that this man, who thus arrays himself against the wishes and hopes of the people, aspires, through his connexion with the Crown and the protection of a *Polignac* administration, to the government of India? We tell him he has chosen the wrong path to such an object. What House of Commons—we would rather say, what House of the representatives of the people—would permit such an insult to their feelings, or sanction such a reward for ingratitude, tergiversation, and perfidy? The times for such jobs are, thank God, gone by.

LIBEL, No. 3.

The contest of the House of Lords with regard to the Reform Bill ought to be placed in a clear light. Nothing, in fact can equal the baseness displayed by a number of peers, and the bishops in general. Mr. HUME was in the right when he said, from what he knew of the House of Lords, it would not have been necessary to create ten peers, had it been believed by them that the King would certainly create peers. *It was the treacherous disclosure by some of the Fitzclarences that the King*

would not create peers that led to the discomfiture of the bill. Without that treacherous disclosure, it is thought, by those who are good judges, that the bill might have been passed, unimpaired and unmutated, without the creation of more than half a dozen peers. *We ask whether a letter was not shown to the bishops a few hours before the division on Lord Lyndhurst's motion, which convinced them that peers would not be created in such numbers as to overcome the resistance of evil-disposed peers?* The bishops have a quick scent. It is, however, but justice to the bishops of London, Chester, Chichester, and St. David's, to proclaim to the world, that though such a document was shown to them as well as to the rest of their brethren, *they refused to bow the knee to Baal, but adhered to their pledges.*

Upon the first of these monstrous libels, I shall only remark, that I never called the Queen, or any person known to the court, "*a nasty German frow.*" I never called anybody a *German frow*, except the nasty, freckled, rough-hided, devils that go about the country in skull-caps and kilts, crying "*Py a proom;*" and whom this emigration Ministry suffer to swarm all over the country, while they tax us to get away the English working people, upon the pretended ground that they are too numerous. I never made even an allusion to the Queen, or to any lady belonging to the court; and I desire you, my friends, to join me in reprobating this villanous species of misrepresentation.

With regard to libel No. 2, the libeller, being a *Whig*, is, I think, indiscreet as well as libellous; for he tells us that the Duke of Wellington *refused* to elevate the Fitzjordanes to distinction. Indeed! I would not have told this if I had been a partisan of Lord Grey. Libel No. 3. relates to a curious matter; the truth with regard to which will probably come out in the end. But I cannot dismiss these libels without bestowing upon them that reprobation which they deserve, and without observing that this is the language of that which, in the slang of the House of Commons, has been called the "*respectable part of the press.*" I can remember, when Messrs. LEIGH and JOHN HUNT were imprisoned two years, and fined 500*l.* each, for what was called a libel on the Prince Regent, not

a ten thousandth part so virulent as any one of these. The bloody old *Times* newspaper, which is the most infamous piece of printing that ever disgraced ink and paper, has, if possible, poured forth libels still more infamous than these; the libels of this bloody paper I have had to endure for a great many years. But I must cease to complain, now that it attacks the King himself, even in a more villanous manner than ever it attacked me. Let it see a prospect of gain arising from it, and it would attack with equal virulence the King of kings.

From newspapers, let us now turn to Bank paper. Amongst the means which were put into motion on Monday, the 14th of May, was a run upon the Bank for gold, agreeably to the placard before-mentioned, which was put out on Saturday evening, the 12th of May. The run began on Monday morning, and continued with great spirit, until it was known that Lord Grey was to return to power. On Monday evening, the 14th of May, there took place in the House of Commons that debate which you will find inserted at full length in another part of this *Register*, which debate I call the *reconciliation* debate, and which you will find it impossible to read through without repeating to yourself a well-known passage of the poet:

“*Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong?*”

Upon this debate I shall hereafter have plenty of opportunities of remarking, especially upon the speeches of BAKING, which you will find worthy of the greatest attention; for this loan-monger was, it seems, to have been Strathfieldsay's Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, as connected with the present subject, this debate clearly proved that the people had triumphed; and I am satisfied that that triumph was very much hastened by *the run upon the Bank*. The people were working in all sorts of ways; but this was certainly the most effectual of their movements.

On Tuesday evening, the 15th of May, Lord Grey announced to the

House of Lords that he had received a *communication from the King*; and that for that reason he moved an adjournment of the House to Thursday, the 17th of May. It is now the middle of that day: and I expect to be able, before I conclude this letter, to announce to you that the Whig-Ministers are re-instated in their offices; and that, somehow or other, the passing of the bill by the Lords is to be made sure; and that every lover of freedom upon the face of the earth will have to be grateful to the people of this kingdom for their wonderful exertions during this wonderful week.

All have behaved in so admirable a manner; all have been so prompt, have shown so much spirit and so much wisdom, that it would be difficult to select any portion of the people entitled to pre-eminence in public virtue: but, if one were compelled to cite an instance of promptitude and spirit perfectly prodigious, it gives me particular pleasure to observe, that justice would compel the pen of the eulogist to write down the name of MANCHESTER! In that town, the name of which is known throughout the world, and throughout the world is synonymous with all the qualities and virtues connected with the most wonderful creative industry; in that town, two hundred miles distant from the court, the news of the King's refusal and of Lord Grey's resignation did not arrive until the morning of Thursday, the 10th of May. Before the evening of that day, a petition signed by between 20 and 30 thousand persons, praying the House of Commons to stop all supplies, was sent off to London, where it actually arrived the next day; so that, though Manchester was at two hundred miles distance, there were but about *seventy* hours between the refusal of the King and the arrival of the petition in London, signed by twenty-five thousand persons at the least. To their honour I record, that JOHN SHUTTLEWORTH, RICHARD POTTER, and JOHN FIELDEN, were the bearers of this petition.

And, now, my friends, is there, after this, any bloated boroughmonger impu-

dent enough to entertain the hope of subduing the people of England, or of cajoling them out of their resolution to have *cheap government*? How often did I endeavour to impress upon your minds the important truths, that our deliverance depended upon ourselves; that we had no hope but in our own exertions; and that to induce us to make those exertions, we must clearly understand beforehand the good which would arise to us from a reform of the Parliament. Often was I told, that the promulgation of my *propositions* would frighten the Lords, and would induce them to refuse to pass the bill. Often was I told this; and as often did I answer, They will never pass it unless compelled by the popular voice, and by resolute conduct on the part of the people; and, to produce that resolute conduct in the people, you must first make the people clearly see that the bill would be a great benefit to them. Men do not bestir themselves without a motive; and the motive must be strong in proportion as the risk or the inconvenience is great. It has, therefore, been the object of my strenuous exertions, to furnish this strong motive; and whatever share will be my due in effecting this great national object, will have to be ascribed to those *LECTURES*, which were delivered to you last winter, and whatever degree of merit those lectures may possess, will be to be chiefly ascribed to the ambition which I had to stand high in your esteem.

I am, your faithful friend,

And most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

FRIDAY MORNING, SEVEN O'CLOCK.—I have room for very little. The following debate is long; but the matter, and *every word of it*, we shall want to refer to almost incessantly for some time to come. It contains the unravelling of the plot of the most interesting drama that we ever beheld. It was produced by the *resolution of the people*, and especially by the *run upon the old she devil of Thread-needle-street*, who was all in a cold sweat, when she shut her doors on the evening of this debate. CAERNARVON (Oh, that *Herbert*!) had just told them,

in *'tother place*, that "*the ministry was formed.*" Do, pray, read BARING'S speeches in this debate, and, at the same time, remember how many times he has asserted, that this reform was *a revolution*, and that it must *destroy the monarchy*; for they have now the impudence to call it "*a monarchy,*" as glibly as they talk of the "*imperial bushel,*" or of *selling the dead bodies of the poor*. Look at BARING in this debate! See what a figure he makes! mark his *fright*.

The proceedings, in the two houses last night, show, that nothing was *settled as to the means of passing the bill*. Lord GREY having been asked, whether the king had, at last, accepted his advice, gave, as the report says, the following answer: "Earl GREY repeated, that the communication which he had received from his Majesty *had not yet led to any conclusive result*. More than that he did not feel himself called upon to say. In fact, he had on Tuesday stated all that he could now state. A charge had that evening been made against him by a noble Lord, as if he had been guilty, as a Minister, of most improper conduct in respectfully tendering his resignation to his Sovereign. He was not aware, however, that in so doing he had done more than many other Ministers before him. But it was asserted that he had taken this step when *he was aware that no other administration could be formed*. What reason, however, was there for supposing that *no other administration could be formed*; their Lordships having been told over and over again by noble Lords opposite, *that they were the most fit persons to form a Ministry*. If his Majesty were left alone on this occasion, it was in consequence of *the advice of the noble Lords opposite*, and not in consequence of his (Lord Grey's) advice, or that of his friends. This, however, he would distinctly state to the noble Marquess, *that unless he (Lord Grey) could be assured of the means of carrying the Reform Bill in a perfectly efficient state, he would not remain in office.*"

That's good. But I have now only time to add, that I believe, that I firmly

believe, that if this state of things continue another week, *a handful of paper money will not purchase a pot of beer.* The run upon the Bank continued yesterday as great as it was on Saturday. No tradespeople in London will now change a five-pound note. Several have notified by bills stuck in their windows, that they will not take bank-notes in payment: every one is providing himself with gold as far as he is able. Many a time have I cautioned my readers to be prepared for this state of things. I repeat the warning now; for, and let them well observe it, that, *if the Bank stop now*, five pounds in paper-money may not be worth one single shilling, if the run continue for only a few days longer, there must be, what was called a *Bank restriction*; because, without that, all must be instant confusion; and, if that measure be adopted, Bank-notes must be made a legal tender: then there will be two prices in the market; the taxes will be paid in paper; *the dividends will be paid in paper*; and, what is called a hundred pounds stock will perhaps soon be worth less than twenty shillings.

Once more I beseech all my readers to pay attention to this. *Land and goods* are things that will not lose their value; but a state of things is now likely to come, when no *paper representative of money* (be that paper of what sort it may) will be worth one single straw.

I hope, my friends, that you will proceed as you have done; that you will by no means slacken in your efforts, until the reform be actually accomplished.

I remain your faithful friend,
And most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

14th May, 1832.

Debate on the projects of the Duke of Wellington, and on his being again Prime Minister—which debate arose on the presenting of a petition from the Livery of London, by the hands of Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD.

Mr. Alderman WOOD presented a petition

from the City of London, agreed to at a full meeting of the Livery in Common Hall assembled. He wondered whether the hon. Member for Thetford, if he was in the House, would say that this was a foolish petition; but perhaps he would, for he had asserted the same thing of the petition of the Court of Common Council, who were not usually accustomed to send up foolish petitions to that House, or to any other body. Some of the gentlemen who had voted this petition, though not quite so rich as the hon. Member for Thetford, were possessed of property varying from 100,000*l.* to one million. That circumstance alone, he admitted, would not prevent them from sending up a foolish petition (a laugh); they were perhaps quite as likely to do it as men of less property; but he did not think they had done so in the present instance. They had carefully considered the petition they had agreed to, and they felt strongly the same desire with the country at large, that the Reform Bill introduced by the late Ministry was absolutely required to be passed. Though the effect of that bill would be to limit the franchise possessed by some of them as Liverymen of London, still they were willing to sacrifice that private and personal advantage, in order to obtain a measure which they thought would be beneficial to the country at large. The petitioners prayed the House to refuse any further supplies to the executive till the Reform Bill was passed into a law—and with that prayer he most fully concurred. He could only say for himself, that he agreed with every word of the petition, and that he should certainly vote against all supplies till the Reform Bill had become law. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. Alderman THOMPSON wished to say a few words upon this petition. It was one which had been passed at a full meeting of the Livery in Common Hall assembled, and was therefore entitled to every consideration. He was convinced it was impossible for any Government to carry on the affairs of this country unless they adopted the principles of the Reform Bill (hear, hear), because there was a vast majority of every class of the people who were in favour of it, and were most anxious that its enactments should become law. He should say but a very few words on the other part of the prayer of the petition, namely, with respect to the stopping of the supplies. It was undoubtedly *within the power* of the House of Commons to refuse the supplies, but it was a power which ought to be exercised with the greatest care and caution; as, whenever such a circumstance took place, *it must disarrange all the transactions of commercial life*, and be productive of the most dreadful consequences—of such consequences as it was *the object of the Reform Bill to avert*. Whenever circumstances arose that were supposed to call for resorting to such a measure, he should endeavour to act with all the discretion that it was possible could be used under the particular circumstances of the case, but he trusted it never would arise. With

the other part of the petition he most cordially concurred.

LORD EBRINGTON (who sat on the right, or Ministerial side of the House) said—Sir, Upon the subject to which this petition relates I have a few words to address to the House—I allude to the reports which have this morning gained general publicity, and which have produced a degree of general excitement superior to any that we have yet seen connected with the passing of the Reform Bill, and which, I think I may add, have also excited general consternation. I allude to the reports of his Grace the Duke of Wellington having received his Majesty's commands to form an Administration (hear, hear); and if there be here any gentleman who has information that can satisfy the House of Commons upon this matter, I implore him to give us that information. It, as every gentleman well knows, is further said that the Duke of Wellington has accepted office on condition of *bringing in the Reform Bill*—I was going to say—but of carrying on the Reform Bill—that bill, the heads of which were propounded by Lord Ellenborough, after the vote of the other House, which led to the retirement of the late Administration. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I stated on a former occasion that it was not my wish to throw any unnecessary embarrassments in the way of forming a Ministry; and I can truly declare, that if the materials could be found from any parties in this country, whereby the Crown could form a Government that should not involve the departure from every principle that has been expressed by them throughout the discussions upon this question, though I should not have had that confidence in such a Government that I should desire to have in any Government that undertook to carry the Reform Bill; yet, if such a Government was formed on the principle of carrying the Reform Bill, I for one would not withhold from them my humble support. (Hear, hear.) But I must say that it is impossible for me (cheers)—actually impossible for me—to give any support to any Government that, under present circumstances, could be formed by the Duke of Wellington (cheers), because there is no pledge that he could give, of his intentions in favour of a measure of reform, which can be stronger than those which stand recorded (loud cheering)—than those which stand recorded by repeated votes, by speeches, and by solemn protests (immense cheering) of an uncompromising hostility to that measure. Is it possible, Sir, that the Duke of Wellington can come down to the House of Lords with that bill in one hand, and with his protest in the other (renewed cheering), and call upon that House to pass that measure, or to pass anything amounting to any portion of that measure (cheering), that can give the slightest satisfaction to this House or the people? Is it possible, too, for any of those noble Lords, who signed that protest (cheering), to become his associates? Is it possible, especially, that he who denounced the venge-

ance of Heaven on the principles of this bill (tremendous cheering), that he can come round to support this bill, or any bill that is founded on the same principle? (Cheering.) I hope, I trust, I know him better, than to believe him capable of adopting such a course. (Cheers.) I hope, if political principle still continues to have any sway whatever over men (hear, hear, hear)—if anything like *public morality* (cheers) still exists, that neither in this nor the other House of Parliament will one Gentleman be found, who denounced this measure as nothing less than *spoliation and robbery*, to support it, merely because it is proposed under a new Administration; that none will be found who, at the bidding of any one man, can thus turn their backs on all that they have before so solemnly asserted. (Hear, hear, hear.) If, however, that should be the case, I shall console myself with feeling that the course which I have pursued, and which my honourable friends around me have pursued, has not been so inconsistent; and that, though others may desert their principles, we have never betrayed ours. (Loud cheering.) If the bill, as propounded by Lord Ellenborough, should be brought into the House of Peers, and after being carried there, should be brought into this House, to that bill, unless, in the interval, he should again change his mind (hear, hear, hear), and depart from the principle of the bill, to the principle of that bill, so far as it effects an extensive disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs, at least as extensive as schedule A, if not more extensive than that schedule (hear, hear)—so far, too, as it effects the enfranchisement of the large towns, and adopts the 10*l.* qualification, I shall give, and I have no doubt that my friends around me will do the same, my cordial and zealous support. However others may change, the principles of our action will be the same for ever. But I must here be permitted to say, that when the Reform Bill was proposed, it was well known that I gave up my opinion upon some further reform, which I then thought necessary, on the condition of gaining for the country all that was proposed by that bill. (Hear.) To gain everything that is proposed in that bill we are all anxious now, and should anything short of that now be proposed to us, though we should be ready to take that, yet I trust that we should never rest satisfied till we had gained the full extent of what we require. (Cheers.) But it is in vain to hope that the satisfaction which would be derived to the country from the passing of this bill, when received from the hands of the old and tried friends of reform, will be equalled by the satisfaction with which they will receive it when passed by the other party. What, Sir, will be the reflections of the country upon this extraordinary change, if, indeed, it is possible to think such a change has taken place; for till I hear of that change in a manner that leaves not the possibility of doubt, I shall not yield it my belief, in however various shapes it may appear. What is the consequence, I

ask, that will be produced by such a change? I know not; but I trust that whatever may happen, the people of the whole country will have the opportunity of expressing their opinions firmly and decided, but, at the same time, I hope that they will express them moderately and temperately, that they will bear in mind that the worst blow that can be given to the Reform Bill, the greatest injury that can be inflicted on the cause of reform, would be the consequence of any attempt to carry the measure by any means but those which are strictly constitutional. (Hear, hear.) I beg to apologise to the House for the length at which I have troubled them; and again I implore any gentleman who may be acquainted with the matter, to satisfy us on the point to which I have alluded. (The noble Lord sat down amidst much cheering.)

Sir H. HARDINGE—I should be the last person to intrude myself upon the notice of the House, if I thought I should be injuring the interests of the Duke of Wellington, but I stand here in that situation that enables me, without impropriety, to make a few observations in answer to the noble Lord. I have received no proposal from his Majesty to take office, and therefore, when the Duke of Wellington is spoken of as *guilty of a want of public morality* (a solemn hear, hear, from the left of the Speaker, answered by loud and continued cheering on the other side), I, as a friend of the Duke of Wellington, feel called upon to state, that there is no act of his life that justifies any hon. Member in applying to him that imputation. (Cheering and counter cheering.) The use of such terms and such expressions has alone caused me, humble as I am, to rise and protest against them, not in anger or irritation, but because I think they are not justified. If his Majesty is, in consequence of the advice tendered to him by his late Ministers, in that predicament that he has been obliged to call on the Duke of Wellington for advice, I am persuaded that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will be, as it always has been, that of a loyal and devoted subject. (Cheers from the left of the Speaker.) With regard to any consistency or inconsistency on the part of the Duke of Wellington, I am aware that he has expressed in strong terms his opposition to the bill, and that he has entered a protest against it. I have myself, in this House, used expressions equally strong in declaring my opinion of the dangerous consequences of *that revolutionary measure*. I still retain those sentiments, that the bill is a *dangerous and revolutionary measure*, and that it will be so still if it be only a little mitigated, while its essential qualities are retained; and if enfranchisement and disfranchisement, and a larger constituency—if such a bill can be brought down to this House, and shall give those essential requisites which this House and the country will expect, it will not be for me to state who will bring down that bill, or whether it will be passed through the House of Lords by the Duke of Wellington,

for of that I am ignorant. I know nothing of such a proceeding being about to take place. I say I have not accepted office from his Majesty—I am not aware of the details which are going forward; but when I hear the noble Lord opposite state what he has done, I cannot remain silent, but must be allowed to assert, that the Duke of Wellington is incapable of doing anything in private or public that can subject him to the charge of being guilty of an act of *public immorality*. (Cheers from the left side.)

Lord MILTON—The House, Sir, must have heard with great satisfaction from the gallant officer opposite, that the Duke of Wellington is incapable of an act of public immorality (cheers); because the gallant officer is a person who, more than any other individual, is capable of forming an opinion on the conduct which the noble Duke will most probably pursue. (Hear.) But he has made some little mistake in the answer he has given to the observations of my noble Friend, for he has assumed that my noble Friend has *accused* the Duke of Wellington of an act of *public immorality*. (Hear, hear.) He did no such thing. What he stated was, that if the Duke of Wellington, having been the author of that protest which has found its way upon the Journals of the House of Lords, is at the same time *the author of a bill* which he had already described as *revolutionary*, and which the gallant General still describes as *revolutionary*; if, I say, the Duke of Wellington, having been the author of that protest, did form an Administration on the principle of passing that bill, that then the Duke of Wellington will have been guilty of an act of *public immorality*. (Loud cheering.) On the question put by my noble Friend, as connected with the subject of this petition, the gallant Officer has given no answer. I trust, however, that before the observations which have arisen on this petition shall have passed away, that some other person, who, though not equally in the confidence of the Duke of Wellington with the gallant Officer, will yet be able to make some communication to this House that shall satisfy the public that the imputation on the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will not arise, and that if his Grace does accept office, he will do it untainted with such conduct, which, if adopted, would most certainly be an act of *public immorality*. (Cheers.) The gallant Officer says that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will be that of a loyal and devoted subject. I hope by that expression that he means nothing but that his Grace will show loyalty and devotion to the interests of the country, and not to the *caprice of any man*. (Cheers.) If the gallant Officer means by that that there stands in these realms any human being before whom loyalty and devotion could call on any man to sacrifice his frequently declared and solemnly recorded opinions, the gallant Officer must entertain an opinion inconsistent with the safety and well-being of the country—an opinion that will put an

end to the responsibility of Ministers, and by so doing will endanger the Monarchy itself, which it has always been the policy of the constitution to guard by relieving the chief magistrate from all responsibility, and throwing that responsibility on the Ministers. (Hear, hear, hear.) I am sure, Sir, that it could not be the gallant Officer's meaning, when he used those words, that devotion and loyalty were compatible with a dereliction of principles so distinctly, frequently, and solemnly recorded (loud cheering), or that true devotion and loyalty could exist in connexion with that conduct which my noble Friend has described; and which, if the Duke of Wellington were guilty of it, would justly render him liable to the accusation of having acted inconsistently with public morality.

Sir H. HARDINGE was understood to say that the inference drawn by the noble Lord was unfair, and that he should not have risen but for the observations of the noble Member for Devonshire.

Mr. BARING began by some observation, not distinctly heard, on the manner in which he viewed the question; he then proceeded as follows:—It is not to be denied that the country stands at present on the brink of a great crisis, but I rise simply to call the calm attention of the House (if, at such a time, and on such a subject, it can give me its calm attention) to the position in which we are placed. I do not attribute to hon. Members their eagerness or anxiety as a fault, but in proportion to the importance of the topics which engage us is the necessity to give a calm consideration to the posture in which we stand. I say this, too, notwithstanding the sneer of the hon. Gentleman opposite (we believe Mr. T. Duncombe); and the question really is, whether that posture has been the fault of his Majesty or the Ministers? In perhaps more constitutional language, I may inquire, has what has occurred been produced by the King's fault, or by the fault of some phantom adviser who had operated upon the Royal mind? (Cheers.) All I wish is, that honourable Gentlemen should consider whether it is generous towards the Crown, whether it is common fairness towards the Crown, to irritate the public mind from one end of the kingdom to the other, before the Crown is in a condition to make an answer. (Hear, hear.) Although I venture to address the House on behalf of the Crown, I beg to say that I am not empowered by the Crown. I have not had the honour to meet his Majesty; but I am entitled, like others, to state what I think is due, from a mere sense of justice. The good sense of Ministers has, it is true, led them to abstain from any reflections; but I put it to their more immediate friends, viz. the two noble Lords who have addressed the House, whether it is not consistent with honour, good faith, and common decency (much cheering), to wait at least until the King has the means of being constitutionally heard, before he is bandied, from one end of the kingdom to the

other, as a faithless person. (Cries of No, no, and cheers reiterated.) The King was put forward as the advocate of a great measure, which was received with great favour by the great mass of the people; and now it is asserted that he *has turned round to disappoint them*. (Much cheering.) I do not say that this has been imputed by the two noble Lords; but the language has been held at public meetings. (Cheers and laughter, and cries of "No.") I trust honourable Gentlemen will give me leave to speak; and if they will so far conform to the rules of debate, I shall be most happy to listen to them in return. I assert that no person can have read all *the libels* that have been published from one end of kingdom to the other, without seeing that such is the sum and substance of the accusation against the Crown. It was *very properly* stated by the *honourable Member for Preston*, the other night, that although here and elsewhere there may be a great many persons anxious about the state of parties and individuals, the question with the country is, what is to become of the great measure of reform? At least it is for the country to wait, and I hope it will wait without being agitated and excited by any observations, but especially by such as are made here. (Much cheering and confusion.) The country will be disposed to wait to see whether, in fact, *the King has so broken faith* (cheers); because I admit, whatever may be the opinions of others, or of the humble individual now addressing the House, that *the Crown* has undoubtedly given a pledge to the country of *an extensive measure of reform*, (hear, hear,) and *no person could approach his Majesty with the advice, by forfeiting that pledge*, to sacrifice his own character and to sacrifice the Monarchy of the country. (Great confusion on all sides, and much cheering from the right of the Speaker.) I repeat, that no man could advise the King deliberately to break faith with his people. No man could approach the throne, under existing circumstances, with any other than this language:—"My own opinion is, that the Reform Bill will not promote the good of the country; the constitution to arise out of it will not be so beneficial as that we are about to abandon; but dangers may arise—an emergency may occur—circumstances may present themselves requiring this concession. (Cheers and laughter.) After what has proceeded from the Crown, nobody, whatever might be their private views, could give advice different from that, and the case must be governed by the peculiar difficulties attending it. I know not what the sentiments of the Monarch may be, but only such advice could for a moment be listened to: the determination once taken to grant reform—the pledge for that purpose once given, it must be substantially redeemed and made good. (Cheers.) At the same time, let not the House suppose that I am implicating any other, or that I am detailing anything that actually passed between his Majesty and others, I speak merely my own

opinion—I have no right to speak for others; and the Duke of Wellington is perfectly competent to explain and justify his own conduct. (Cheers and laughter.) With my right honourable and gallant Friend near me (Sir H. Hardinge), I am confident that the great mass of the people will feel that, after the great services of that distinguished individual, it is not upon light grounds that confidence should be refused. (Cheers.) Such being the case, I come to the question—Has this Ministry been broken up because the King has turned short round and refused to make the Reform Bill law?—I deny it. The situation is undoubtedly very serious and lamentable, but the Crown must be advised in some way by somebody. (Continued laughter.) The Ministers retire—they refuse to perform their duties—and I admit that to recommend the King not to pass a Reform Bill would be advice of a most pernicious kind, and the individual who gave it would be justly exposed to the reprobation both of the House and the country. (Cheers.) As far as I can understand (and my information is little beyond that of any other honourable Member, being mainly derived from what the noble Lord had said on a former occasion), the Administration was broken up on this simple ground—that the King had to deal not only with the House of Commons but with the House of Lords; and in reference to the latter, he was required to establish a most dangerous and atrocious principle. (Cheers and confusion.) That principle being, that every time the two Houses of Parliament differ on a question of legislation, the Minister of the Crown is entitled to force the House of Lords by sending an immense number of peers into it; on the refusal of the King to accord in this plan, the Ministers may throw up their commissions in his face, and the country is to be told, because his Majesty has conscientious scruples in so dealing with a branch of the legislature, that he is false and perfidious. (Cheers from all sides.) As far as my information goes, that is a fair view of the case; but I do not pretend even to say that my intelligence is correct, and still less do I call upon the House to pronounce any opinion. All this House and the country is expected to do is, to wait until the Crown is in a condition to tell its own story—to allow that justice to the King which *every criminal has a right to when placed at the bar for trial*. (Hear, hear.) Whatever may be the feelings of the House, or whatever may be the popularity of the question out of doors, I think that the good sense of the country will revolt against any other mode of dealing with its Sovereign. (Cheers.) Angry speeches and angry proceedings are at least ill-timed until the Crown has the means of stating its own case. I have no intention of going farther into the subject: I merely state what is my impression, and I have no wish to enter into the particular merits of this or of any other Reform Bill; but this I will say in reference to the charge of immorality so freely dealt

out—that although I have voted and spoken against the general principle of the bill, and although I still maintain those opinions, yet for no sinister purpose. I did (as the hon. Member for Midhurst and others may remember) at a public meeting at the London Tavern, state, that however objectionable, there was such a feeling in the country in favour of the bill that *there would be no permanent peace until the measure was conceded*. (Hear, hear.) I used that expression twelve months ago—not in a corner, but at a public meeting, and of course without reference to what has now occurred. I have mentioned it in order to show that a man may be perfectly justified in adopting a measure he does not approve for the purpose of averting dangers of a worse and more threatening description. This may be called *public immorality*; but I admit that I was guilty of it, and at a public meeting twelve months ago. Whether this may also be the opinion of the Duke of Wellington I know not, and I have no authority to state; but when it is imputed as an act of immorality, I feel bound to take my share of it; and for one I contend that, instead of being immoral, it is an honest and defensible proceeding. I repeat that we ought to wait until the Crown has the means of explaining to the House and to the country what were the reasons which induced it to reject the advice of its Ministers, in consequence of which they refused longer to continue in its service. When the time comes the country will hear and judge; and however well disposed, as I am myself, to give right hon. Gentlemen opposite credit for the best intentions, it will then also respect the scruples of the Monarch in following advice of a description which an honest English king might justly hesitate to adopt. (Cheers.)

LORD ALTHORP—I do not rise for the purpose of entering at all at large into this discussion; but the hon. Gentleman has attributed to my noble Friends sentiments and opinions which were neither uttered by them, nor, to my knowledge, uttered by any Member of the House. (Much cheering.) I did not hear anybody make the sort of observations regarding his Majesty attributed by the hon. Gentleman; and he calls upon the House to suspend its judgment until his Majesty's constitutional advisers are in a condition to explain. I hope and trust that the House will do so, and that it will not run away with any mistaken feeling regarding his Majesty's conduct, *where it was possible to give it a fair interpretation*. What my noble Friends alluded to was—not the conduct of his Majesty—they alluded to what might have been the conduct—I say, what might have been the conduct of any individuals who, having opposed the Reform Bill in its principle and in its details, were nevertheless ready to accept office with a view to carry the very measure they had so strenuously resisted. (Loud and long cheering.) To that state of things their observations applied; that was the public immorality to which they

alluded; and I cannot think that the expressions they used were stronger than were merited by the occasion. (Cheers from all sides.) With respect to the Reform Bill, whatever may be my feelings with regard to such a line of conduct, I may truly say that I have heard with considerable gratification the hon. Member admit, in the strong terms in which he did admit it, first, that the general feeling of the country is in favour of the measure (hear, hear); and, secondly, however I may differ from him in the inference he draws from the circumstance, that a large *measure of reform is necessary* to the peace and welfare of the kingdom. I rejoice that an hon. Gentleman of his influence should at length have arrived at that conclusion; and although it may not be our lot to be the Ministers who carry the Reform Bill, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing, by the consent of all parties, that we have done a public service in introducing it. (Very vehement cheering, especially from the right of the chair.) By our exertions a Reform Bill—and a large Reform Bill—will have been adopted. (Cheers.) The hon. Gentleman says, and says most truly, at least from hearsay I can confirm him, that many months ago he was of opinion it would be necessary to grant a measure of reform. I know also, that although he was of that opinion, undoubtedly *in this house he did not express it*. (Much cheering.) I saw none of the effects of that conviction either in the hon. Gentleman's votes or speeches. (Cheers and laughter.) Nevertheless I am glad to hear, that although he always spoke against the Reform Bill, he always wished it well, and that however he might denounce it, he did not really think it unjust, revolutionary, or inconsistent with good government. (Hear, hear.) He tells us, indeed, that he still thinks it will not be an improvement—but what he says regarding his future intentions is, undoubtedly, a great improvement. (Cheers and laughter on all sides.) We may hope, therefore, as he has begun improving, that he will go on in the same course, and that, ere long, we shall see our Reform Bill carried to the great satisfaction of the people, and, as we think, to the amelioration of the constitution. (Cheers from all sides.)

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—Within these few minutes, I have heard that a declaration has been just made in another place, by Lord Carnarvon, that the new Administration is for accepting some of the minor parts of the Reform Bill, and that it has been postponed until Thursday, in order that it may then be taken into consideration by the other House of Parliament. (Cheers and loud laughter.) We know that the Duke of Wellington was appointed on Saturday last. We know also what was his first act. His first act was to insult the people of Birmingham. (Confusion, and mingled cheers, and cries of "No, no.") He sent back their petition, and refused to lay it at the foot of the Throne, on the idle pretext that he knew of no such body as that from

which it emanated. (Cheers.) We are now to understand that the Administration has been formed, and as the bill is to be taken into consideration on Thursday, I suppose that the next we shall hear will be that public principles, like public meetings, are "*a farce*." (Cheers and laughter in all quarters.) If the Duke of Wellington did not mean to pursue the Reform Bill, instead of postponing it until Thursday, the motion would have been to discharge the order for taking it into consideration. Where he has found Ministers to fill his Cabinet, I know not; but we all know who was the noble and learned Individual first employed to compound the Administration, and we now find that that Administration is about to adopt the very bill which it denounced only a few hours ago as revolutionary. (Cheers and laughter.) I cannot say that the measure has fallen into hands more worthy of it, or more worthy of the task of passing it. I do not deny the noble Lord's learning or talents, but his whole life has been *one scene of political prostitution and apostacy*. Again I say of what materials the Administration will be formed it is impossible yet to guess; but if it is to be composed of the opponents of the Reform Bill, their principles must be, like certain vehicles set upon crane-necked carriages, the advantage of which is, that they turn round in the smallest possible space. (Laughter from all sides.) In such a vehicle must the Duke of Wellington go down to the House of Lords. (Laughter.) What will be the beasts that draw him—who the charioteer that drives him, or who the pensioned lacquies that stand behind him, I know not (much cheering); but this I know, that, under such circumstances, I would rather be the tailor that turns his coat than the Duke of Wellington with all his glories. (Much cheering.) But if the temporal Lords have no consciences to be consulted, what is to become of the spiritual Peers? Are the bishops to be hung upon crane-necked carriages too? Are they of a sudden to fling up their mitres and halloo for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill?" (Reiterated cheers and bursts of laughter.) One of these right rev. Prelates made a most solemn appeal to the House upon the subject, and as it has since been published from authority in the shape of a pamphlet, I may be excused for quoting a passage from it: it was a speech delivered on the question, that the Reform Bill be read a second time. "My Lords (said the Bishop) but one thing is right and one thing only—to walk uprightly; that is in your own power. As for the consequences, they are in the power of God. Will you distrust that power? My Lords, you will not." I say to the House of Peers—"My Lords, you will distrust that power, unless the Duke of Wellington and place are your God." (Vehement cheers.) The hon. Member for Thetford has talked about the creation of Peers—*forsooth* that it would degrade the House of Lords; but this base violation of public principle—this base violation of public protest, will do more to

degrade the House of Lords than the creation of a hundred Peers. (Cheers for some minutes, during which the hon. Member sat down.)

Sir H. HARDINGE rose. Before he noticed the harshness of the expressions of the hon. Member for Hertford, he wished to know whether he meant to say that the Duke of Wellington has—(cries of "Order, and spoke.")

The SPEAKER remarked that he did not consider it a question of order, nor did he require to be made alive to points of order when they occurred.

Sir H. HARDINGE was again about to speak, but he was again interrupted by the impatience of the House.

Lord MILTON said it appeared to him that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was himself out of order in the interruption he had occasioned.

Sir H. HARDINGE again rose; but the disturbance was so great that he could not be heard, and after standing for a few moments he resumed his seat.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE proceeded. I repeat that if the House of Lords be guilty of the base violation of public principle and recorded protest, it will do more to lower them in the estimation of the people of England than the creation of a hundred peers. I agree also with the right rev. Prelate I have already quoted in another sentiment contained in his speech where he says of the Lords, and let that House look to it:—My Lords, if this House shall ever fall from its palmy state, it will fall by corruption from within. (Cheers.) It will fall by folly or by guilt—by the cowardice or treachery of some—if there shall be any such—of its own degenerate members. (Cheers.) I say that they cannot be so degenerate; I do not believe that there are any such; that they will not so grossly violate the pledges they have given in the face of God and their country. But we are told, by the hon. Member for Thetford, that the Duke of Wellington has, at last, heard the imperious call of the people for reform; that the voices raised at those "*farces*"—public meetings—have at length reached him; and that the Duke of Wellington means to give us reform. Reform from the Duke of Wellington! Reform from the Tories! We are to be taught reform by these honourable and right honourable apostates! The people are to learn the value of reform, as Dean Swift tells us the ancients learnt how to prune their vines; they found that when asses had browsed upon them, they thrive more vigorously, and produced better fruit; so in this case, because the Tories have at last nibbled at reform, it is to thrive more vigorously and to produce better fruit. (Loud cheers and laughter.) I say that what comes from so polluted a source must be corrupt, and that we ought never to distrust the Tories more than when they affect to be liberal. (Cheers.) But if this Administration be formed, what, I want to know, are they to do with this House? Will they dissolve the Parliament which the King called in order that it

might speak the sense of the people? (Continued cheers.) It has been said that we have connected the King's name with reform. Let me ask the hon. Member for Thetford this:—*Will dissolving the Parliament separate the King's name from reform?* (Cheers.) Will dissolving the Parliament separate the names of *other members of the royal family from reform?* (Cheers.) I will give the House the titles of some of those members—the illustrious Cumberland and the sapient Gloucester. (Many cheers from all parts of the House, mixed with cries of "order.")

Sir H. HARDINGE rose.

The SPEAKER called the hon. Member to order. It was irregular to mention any names, and not less those of the royal dukes.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE apologised. If the new Ministry should venture (he added) to dissolve this Parliament, they may depend upon it they will not better their situation, and the inevitable result will be their defeat, disgrace, and dishonour. You may reject the petitions of Political Unions, but it will be in vain: the people will and ought to be heard. On Saturday I heard that the petition of the Birmingham Union had been sent back. I have never yet belonged to any of those bodies; but the moment I heard that fact I enrolled my name. (Cheers.) You may talk as you please about putting down Political Unions. I should like to see the question tried whether Political Unions can be put down. I maintain that you cannot put them down but by granting reform. A Political Union is quite as legal and constitutional a body as that political union known by the name of the Cumberland or Conservative Club. (Repeated cheers.) I shall trouble the House at present no farther; but in sitting down I think it right to say that I shall oppose and defeat the new Administration by all the means the forms of this House allow. Out of doors I shall adopt every possible constitutional measure to resist and embarrass them—by agitation, if you like to call it so, or in any other way, until I see those who have been the prime movers of this base outrage upon the nation's feelings hurled from their lofty station and biting the very dust of reform, amid the curses of an insulted people and the execration of an indignant Parliament. (Immense cheering.)

Mr. BEAUMONT was not very distinctly heard, as the House was far from tranquil while he was speaking. He referred to the recorded protest of the Duke of Wellington, and remarked, that if a tree were to be known by its fruits, little reliance could be placed upon the disposition of the author of that protest in favour of reform. He also noticed the surrounding of the metropolis by military, and the rejection of the Birmingham petition, as the first acts of the new Government, and called upon the House of Commons to stand forward as the conservative body of the state. It was his most anxious desire to remove the enemies of the people from the councils of the King, and he threatened to do every thing that

was legal and constitutional in the way of agitation and resistance. From this moment he considered that there were only two parties in the kingdom—the party of Reform and the party of the Duke, and those who were not avowedly for reform, were, of course, to be reckoned in the number of its worst opponents.

Mr. MACAULAY only wished to say a few words; and complained, in the first place, that the hon. Member for Thetford had himself improperly introduced the royal name, for the sake of influencing the decision of the House. With all respect for the services and talents of his hon. and gallant friend (Sir H. Hardinge) he must fairly and frankly, in the language of Parliament and of gentlemen, and without the slightest admixture of personality, express what he thought of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington. Two evils grew out of the present state of affairs, one the danger of losing the Reform Bill, and the other, the deep *injury inflicted upon the characters of public men.* (Cheers.) Above all, of one public man, for whom he had entertained feelings of such high veneration, that he would almost rather the disgrace should have fallen upon *any other individual, however near or dear to him.* He could not contemplate, without the most *acute pain*, the possible degradation of perhaps *the most illustrious name in British history.* *On the 16th April, the Duke of Wellington, with the utmost formality, had declared that the disfranchising clauses of the Reform Bill were shocking to all notions of justice; that the principles of the measure were *destructive of the Monarchy*; and yet, before the 16th of May, he had jumped to the conclusion, that all he before resisted was right, and all that he had declared needless was necessary. (Cheers.) The Duke was now, it seemed, alive to the perils of the State—to the agitation of the public mind—to the earnest wishes of the vast body of the King's subjects; but did not all these exist before the 16th of April, or were his Grace's eyes only opened when he saw an opportunity of again obtaining office? If the recent division against the Reform Bill were the cause of the change in the public mind, if the Duke thought that it had produced it, it had been in his power to prevent it; and not having prevented it, he ought not to be allowed to take advantage of his own wrong. In signing the protest, when he knew the state of excitement out of doors, *the Duke had been guilty of one act of public immorality*; and he was guilty of a second act of public immorality, if, having signed the protest, he now at once abandoned its principles. What difference was there in the state of the question between the 16th April and the 16th May, excepting that at the first date the Duke of Wellington was in opposition, and at the last date in place? (Hear, hear.) If the characters of such eminent public men were to sustain this disgrace, it became the representatives of the people to let their constituents see that the stain did not belong to them—that somebody might yet be

trusted—that all were not ready to sacrifice principle to place. If those who had so repeatedly and so unanimously declared against Reform now called themselves its advocates, it became doubly the duty of the House of Commons to take care of the bill, and of its most minute details. If, when it was returned from the Lords, he saw that it still contained any important public good, he should readily support it. He thought that no pledge could be stronger than that which the Duke of Wellington made in his protest against the Reform Bill, and if that pledge should have been violated within one month, no other pledge of an administration formed of those who subscribed to the protest could hold out long. (Cheers.) Therefore he would say, that he should give no confidence to such a Ministry, coming into power upon principles directly contrary to those to which, in the protest, they had pledged themselves. (Hear, hear.) He should, indeed, always support the Reform Bill, through whatever hands it might be carried; but on the day after the passing of the bill, he should take such measures as might be the best calculated to show that the House would give no confidence or support to such an Administration. To state at once that he would take that course, was a duty which he owed to himself; for the present was a time when the character of public men required, above all things, to be carefully looked to; and he believed that the time was not distant when character and power would be synonymous. Therefore, if others would have *infamy and place*, let the House of Commons, at least, have *honour and reform.* (Great cheers.)

Sir H. HARDINGE attempted to address the House, but what he said was rendered inaudible by the cries of "Spoke, spoke." He was understood to address himself to the Chair.

The SPEAKER said that, although the hon. and gallant Gentleman had already spoken upon the question before the House, yet, if he had anything to explain, or if he conceived that anything had been said which was contrary to the order and usage of the House, the House would hear him.

Mr. MACAULAY said, that he believed he should be able to put an end to the discussion if the House would allow him to say a few words. (Spoke, spoke.) He would assure the hon. and gallant Baronet, that in anything which he had said he had no intention to *swagger*, as the gallant Baronet supposed. The gallant Baronet himself was not more aware than he (Mr. Macaulay) that it was absurd to use *swaggering* language in that House. (Hear, hear, hear.) But in what he (Mr. Macaulay) had said, there was nothing like menace or *swaggering*. All he said was, that if others—and he did not particularly point at any person—consented to have *infamy and place*, he hoped that the House of Commons would preserve its honour, and adhere to the Reform Bill. (Cheers.)

Sir GEORGE MURRAY said, that the hon.

Gentleman had used strong expressions, which he (Sir G. Murray) had no wish to imitate. For his part he (Sir G. Murray) was always desirous to avoid the use of language which might give offence; and he thought that if at all times it was desirable for the Members of that House to proceed with temper and moderation, the present times especially required that they should do so. The hon. Member for Calne had spoken of infamy being incurred by persons accepting places; but surely the hon. Gentleman must be aware that in the present circumstances of the country place could not be very desirable. (Hear, hear.) But there might be an emergency which should induce men of honour and principle to take office, notwithstanding the difficulties with which they should have to contend. (Hear.) As to the course which the new Administration were supposed to intend, he must say, that surely it was the duty of public men to follow at any time the course which the public good, according to the circumstances of the times, required. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was too much to accuse statesmen of inconsistency because they adopted that course. But if the persons who were to constitute the new Administration were accused of inconsistency, he would take leave to ask, was there no inconsistency upon the other side? (Hear.) Had there been no inconsistency on the part of the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces? (Hear, hear.) It was always unpleasant to him (Sir G. Murray) to make charges against any one; but he now felt justified in asserting that the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, had, both in his speeches in that House, and in pamphlets published under his name, expressed himself hostile to those very principles upon which he had since framed his Reform Bill. (Hear, hear, hear.) Besides, several colleagues of the noble Lord had frequently expressed themselves hostile to the principles of reform altogether. When the noble Lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whom he did not then see in his place, was on one occasion defending some of those gentlemen from a charge of inconsistency, he said that it was most improper and unjust to accuse statesmen of inconsistency when they were induced to alter their policy, foreign or domestic, with the altered circumstances of the country. (Hear, hear.) He recollected that on that occasion, his right hon. Friend beside him (Sir R. Peel) joined with the noble Lord in repelling the charge of inconsistency which was cast upon public men for having altered their policy upon a particular question. (The noise in the House of members talking and moving about was such, that for a great part of the hon. Gentleman's speech he was heard imperfectly.) It was, evidently, the wish of some persons in that House, and it was expressly the object of some who spoke to-night, to cramp the Sovereign in the choice of Ministers. He was very glad to observe that the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp)

had assumed a tone different from that adopted by the persons to whom he alluded. That noble Lord had said, that if any measure was brought forward by the new Ministry, be they whom they may, which should seem to him to be beneficial to the country, he would give them so far his assistance and support. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Hertford, who gave an illustration respecting the vine, he could not help smiling, for the Tories were not the persons who had browsed in the spot to which the hon. Gentleman alluded. The noble Lord, the Member for Northamptonshire, had drawn a distinction between loyalty and that sort of attachment which induced men to bend to all the caprices of the Sovereign, but there was yet no reason to accuse any persons of that sort of blind devotion. Without the fullest information, the House ought not to be persuaded that the King had acted with caprice. There had been no proof that his Majesty had abandoned the principles to which, in his speech from the throne, he had before pledged himself; or that he did not still entertain the sentiments which he was known to have expressed. (Hear, hear.) All they knew was, that his Ministers made to him a proposition with which he did not think it right to comply. But they did not know what were the circumstances which induced his Majesty to think that he ought not, at the time, to do what his Ministers advised him to. Under these circumstances (and he spoke there only as an individual, and without authority from any quarter whatever)—it appeared to him, that the only line which it became the House to follow was, to support the Crown. (Cheers.)

An hon. MEMBER (whose name we could not learn) said, that heretofore he had always doubted that it would be a wise or expedient course to create new peers, for the purpose of carrying a particular measure. But now all his doubts were removed. The occurrences of the last week had convinced him that new peers ought to have been created. (Cheers.) As that had not been done, it remained for the House of Commons to send up to the Lords a Bill of Supply in company with a Reform Bill. He did not think that, in such a case, the House of Lords would venture to separate what the Commons had joined. (Cheers, and a laugh.) The speech of the hon. Member for Hertford had been alluded to already by several speakers; and he also would advert to one topic introduced by that Gentleman. Coming into town that morning, he saw several detachments of the army on their march. Now, certainly it might be that they were merely changing quarters; but the appearance of troops moving from place to place at the present conjuncture was enough to "fright the isle from its propriety." (Cheers.) He agreed with the observations of the hon. Member for Calne, and would join with that Gentleman in taking measures to show that they had no confidence in the men whom it was understood the King had taken to his councils; and

he was sure that the country would also show that it reposed no confidence in those persons. (Cheers.)

Lord J. RUSSELL felt himself called upon, on an occasion like the present, to show that the conduct which was said to be borne out by his example was in every respect dissimilar to everything that he had ever done. (Hear, hear.) He thought it to be his duty, in such a case, to lay before the House his own conduct and that of the gentlemen, whoever they might be, who were about to take office as Cabinet Ministers. It had been said that he had changed his opinions on the subject of reform. His opinions had at all times been expressed just as he entertained them at the time; and yet all that could be brought home to him on the subject of change of opinion was, that from having been a reformer twelve years ago, and that not of the most moderate class of reformers—from being a reformer who proposed to take one hundred members from places now represented in that House, and to give them to the great towns—from being such a reformer, he had come to be the advocate of that reform which for a long time he had endeavoured to render unnecessary—that was the total disfranchisement of nomination boroughs. But that change in his conduct and the necessity of the case had been brought about, first, by the obstinate resistance which had been made by the Government now coming into office to the most moderate reform; (cheers;) secondly, by the altered condition of the country; and thirdly, by the opinions of many persons of the highest authority, differing from each other on the question of reform. He would mention two of those persons by whose opinions he had been influenced, and it would be admitted that they had few opinions in common upon the general question of reform—Lord Grey and the late Mr. Canning. It was the opinion of those gentlemen, that if any measure of reform was to be carried, it ought to be founded on such principles as would render it final, (cheers,) so far as it was possible for the legislature to make it so. On these three considerations it was that he had come to the opinion, that if a reform were effected, however extensive it might be in other respects, but which should leave seats in that House avowedly at the disposal of individuals, the question would still be left open to discussion, and there would still be a call for further reform. (Cheers.) Such was the nature of the inconsistency which could be charged upon him. But it could not be said, that, like some, he had changed from a reformer to an anti-reformer (cheers,) nor had he, like others, changed suddenly determined hostility to all reform to the advocacy of such a measure as that House had passed. (Cheers.) He had changed only from moderate to extensive reform, that change being effected in him by the necessity, as he had said, brought on by gentlemen opposite—by the change in the condition of the country—by the opinion of

the great men to whom he had alluded—and, above all things, by the effect produced in the country by the declaration of the Duke of Wellington, that no reform was necessary—that the system of representation was as perfect as the wit of man could devise, and that he (the noble Duke) would never consent to any reform of any kind whatever. (Cheers.) Such were his reasons for agreeing with his noble Friend (Earl Grey), in the interviews which he had with him in the commencement of his ministry, that any reform which they should determine to produce ought to be of the most decided character, and therefore they adopted the measure to which that House had since given its sanction. (Cheers.) But he would put it to the candour of Gentlemen opposite, and of the honourable Baronet who had appealed to him (Sir G. Murray), whether that change which had taken place in his opinions in the course of twelve years, was equal in danger to the change which had taken place in the opinions of some gentlemen within the last twelve days. (Vehement cheering.) In twelve days, those gentlemen had changed, from opposition to all reform as revolutionary, to the support of that reform which they denominated as the most revolutionary that could be devised. (Cheers.) It was now a matter of boast with their friends, that those persons who signed twelve days ago a declaration that they opposed the Reform Bill as revolutionary, subversive of the constitution, and dangerous to the Crown, were now taking office pledged to carry that same measure. (Cheers.) He trusted that, after the appeal which had been made to him, the House would indulge him whilst he said a few words respecting the crisis in which the country was placed at present. In doing so, he should not be induced by the artful threat of the hon. Member for Thetford to drag the King's name into the discussion. (Cheers.) He should not be provoked by that hon. Member's taunt to lift the veil from before the throne, and bring the King's personal character into the debate. (Hear, hear.) According to the constitution, there was no doubt that the King had the prerogative to reject any advice which his Ministers might offer to him, at the same time that he was bound to accept the resignation of any man who felt in his conscience that his services could no longer be performed for the good of the country. But it was no less undoubtedly the right of that House to withhold its confidence from any Ministry which his Majesty might be advised to call to his councils. (Cheers.) At the present moment there were two great questions in which the country was deeply interested. The first was reform; the second was the character of the Administration by which the country is about to be governed. (Cheers.) In that question the character of public men was deeply involved. (Cheers.) Now, as to reform, he would say, with his honourable Friends who had spoken before him, that he was prepared to give it his utmost support, whoever might be the persons

that should conduct it through that House, provided only that they carry it through untouched in all its principles. (Hear, hear.) But he would own that he felt a difficulty in trusting much to the future prospects of the bill, and that difficulty was not diminished by what had fallen from the hon. Member for Thetford. He could not see what the reason was wherefore that honourable Gentleman had not professed the same sentiments a week ago, and declared himself ready to support the bill. (Hear, hear.) Was the sentiment with which honourable Gentlemen had acted to be expressed in these words:—"We will not object to the bill if you give us your places; give us your offices and we shall carry your bill." (Vehement cheering.) Well, if they had plainly and honestly avowed that sentiment, or if they had given an intelligible intimation that they entered with such views, Lord Grey would have willingly given up his office and the bill together into their hands. (Cheers.) He would have said that the measure was to him an occasion of pain and thorns, and that he would give up the bill to them if they would carry it as it was; that is to say, if they would revoke every pledge which they had ever given—if they would retract every sentiment that they had ever uttered. (Repeated cheers.) But if the sentiments of those gentlemen had not undergone the change which was supposed to have taken place in them—if they were determined to mutilate the bill, or to introduce clauses into it which would deprive the people of the power to control their representatives, in that case the Reform Bill would be essentially different from that which it was when sent up from that House, and it would be such as might account for those gentlemen's support. He was, indeed, very doubtful that they would carry the bill without making alterations to suit it to their opinions, unless they should be induced to keep it as it was, for the sake of retaining their places, which really seemed to be to them the object of their whole ambition. (Cheers.) But if they should not mutilate the bill—if they should send it back to that House with alterations only in some minor points not affecting the principles, or the more important of its provisions, he would make no objection to such alterations. (Hear, hear.) Now there was another question—no less important than the question of reform, respecting the character of public men. (Cheers.) When he attached so much importance to that question, he was only uttering the sentiments which the Duke of Wellington had expressed in stronger terms, on the occasion when there was some question respecting the retirement of Mr. Huskisson from office, and when that gentleman made it the condition of his remaining in the Administration that the Duke of Wellington should solicit him to remain. But the Duke, thinking it below the dignity of his station to make such a solicitation, said that, however valuable the services of Mr. Huskisson might be to the state, yet

that was a time when the character of public men was of so much importance, that "*any loss was better than the loss of character*" (prolonged cheering); because the character of public men was *the foundation of public confidence*. (Repeated cheering.) Such being the sentiments of the noble Duke, he (Lord J. Russell) could not believe that he (Lord Wellington) would place himself in a situation in which the people would be able to say to him that he had violated his pledges and falsified his opinions, and that in future, with whatever solemnity he might pledge himself to any line of conduct—with whatever earnestness he might state his opinions, the public could never have confidence in the man who could sweep away in one day the most solemn protestations of his whole life. (Great cheering.) The hon. Member for Thetford had come down to the House with an intimation that the change of opinion had taken place, and he seemed to suppose that such a change was no more than a summer cloud, which would pass away without exciting wonder or alarm. But he would assure the hon. Gentleman that the people attached more importance than he (Mr. Baring) did to the character of the persons to whom the affairs of the country might be entrusted (hear, hear): and the Duke of Wellington himself was no ordinary person. (Hear.) He was one in whose character the whole country was interested. (Hear, hear.) Having said thus much in reply to the hon. Member for Thetford, he would beg leave to say a few words in reference to the right hon. member for Tamworth, who had been alluded to in connexion with the present subject, and respecting certain reports which were in circulation. It was said that the right hon. Gentleman was not now about to take place in the new Administration. (Hear.) To that rumour, he (Lord J. Russell) did not hesitate to give credence. He had ever spoken of the right hon. Gentleman with respect; and, indeed, on one occasion he regretted, for the sake of his (Sir R. Peel's) character, that he had consented to remain in office whilst another great question, to which the hon. Baronet was known to be opposed, was carried. (Hear, hear.) But he (Lord J. Russell) understood that the right hon. Gentleman was so entangled that he could not escape, and that his conduct was influenced by the purest motives. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, and for all that he had seen of that Gentleman, he readily gave credence to the statement that he would not take office in the present conjuncture, and he was sure that the right hon. Baronet would not follow any course which honour did not sanction. (Hear, hear.) But, perhaps, as had been suggested, the right hon. Gentleman might yet think himself placed in a situation in which he ought to give his support to the Administration, although he would not consent to take part in it. But the right hon. Baronet had often before expressed his sentiments on the question of reform, and it appeared to him (Lord

John Russell) that those sentiments were such as must prevent him (Sir Robert Peel) from giving his aid to such an Administration, and from bringing to its support that eloquence which, strengthened by his high character, had so often gained the support of the House to the measures which he advocated. The right hon. Baronet's sentiments on this subject had been recorded on a very late occasion. He (Lord John Russell) would venture to read the terms in which those sentiments were recorded. But he would first premise that, last year, very much to his regret, the right honourable Baronet stated that he could agree to some measure of enfranchisement, as that was altogether a matter of expediency, but that to disfranchisement he never could assent, as that involved a question of justice, and to an act of injustice nothing should force him to be a party. (Hear, hear.) On the third reading of the Reform Bill, the right hon. Baronet having enumerated all the evils which he believed the measure would produce, and having supposed some liberal and enlightened individual in future times sighing after the blessings which the nation had enjoyed under the present constitution, and breathing forth bitter reproaches against those who had forfeited for him his bright and precious inheritance, concluded with these words:—"That I may not be called to the bar of posterity,—that I may not be visited with that censure which will naturally arise from the evils, public and private, which I foresee this bill must create,—that I may carry with me to the last the satisfaction of having struggled in this conflict with perseverance, although without effect, and the consolation of having *surrendered without dishonour, my last vote shall be given as my first—in opposition to this bill.*" Such were the sentiments of the right hon. Baronet at the time when last he gave a vote upon this question. Now he (Lord J. Russell) presumed that having given that vote, and upon those grounds, the right hon. Baronet could not be induced by anything that had since occurred to vote in another way under another administration. (Hear, hear.) But he understood that there were others who, on the same occasion, gave their last vote on the same question, and who were now ready to *give another last vote.* (Cheers and laughter.) It was not for him to regret that they should do so. On the contrary, let the bill be passed, and he should rejoice. He should gladly accept the boon, by whatever hands it might be conveyed. (Hear, hear.) The bill would be a great and permanent benefit to the country. It would secure peace and good government; and such a measure was not to be rejected on account of the party from whom it might come. But he would say now, once and for ever, that after that measure should have been passed, *he could give no support or confidence to those who, in carrying that measure, would stand in the face of the country publicly dishonoured.* (Vigorous cheering for some minutes.)

Sir E. SUGDEN said, that it might be very well for Gentlemen to speak of infamy and dishonour attaching to those who accepted office. But Gentlemen must be aware, that he for one could not accept office without incurring loss and inconvenience, and could therefore be influenced only by a feeling of public duty. (Cheers, mingled with laughter, and cries of Oh, oh!) He had not come down prepared for the present discussion. He had not brought with him, like the noble Lord, carefully selected quotations to enable him to cast imputations upon others. (Cries of spoke.) He was sure that nobody would deprecate more than hon. Gentlemen opposite the reading of partial extracts from one of their speeches without giving them with the context. (A laugh.) He would ask the noble Lord opposite, if he did not, upon one occasion, say, that he would look upon the disfranchisement of Gatton and Old Sarum to be as great an infraction of the constitution as anything that had been done by King James the Second?

Lord J. RUSSELL explained that what he had said upon the occasion referred to was, that the franchise of Gatton or of Old Sarum was a trust, as the Crown was a trust, and that when the Legislature deprived those places of a trust, that ought not to be done except upon as good grounds as those upon which King James had been expelled. (Cheers.)

Sir E. SUGDEN would not then go into the question as to whether Gatton and Old Sarum ought to be disfranchised. But when the noble Lord thought proper to attack Gentlemen upon his side of the House for having changed their opinions, he thought it right to remind the noble Lord that he himself was liable to the same charge. (Hear, hear, hear.) He never was more surprised than when he came into that House, and heard it complained of that Gentlemen upon that (the Tory) side of the House had mixed up the King's name with this discussion. He would ask the House whether it was not by the Gentlemen opposite the name of the King was first brought forward in this question? They united it with the name of the people; and he would desire nothing more earnestly than that the King's name should always be united with the name of the people, only that from that union the aristocracy should not be omitted. (Cheers.) The noble Lord had said that the present was a question of character. Well, in what way was the character of the Duke of Wellington compromised by the course which he had adopted? (Hear, hear.) He was sure that his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) could not be pleased to hear himself *lauded at the expense of the noble Duke.* He was sure that his right hon. Friend placed confidence in the noble Duke, as did also a great portion of the people. (A laugh, and cries of Oh, oh! replied to by cheers.) So far as the character of public men was concerned, he thought that the reproach was to be cast on others, not upon the Duke of Wellington. During the debate upon the second reading of the bill, he (Sir E.

Sugden) had paid particular attention to the speech of the noble Duke, and to the reply; and the only thing which he at that moment had in his pocket was an extract from that reply. The noble Earl (Lord Grey) said to the House of Lords, "Pass the second reading of the bill, and then the *bill will be in your hands, and not in mine*. If you interfere with its principle, I will oppose such interference, but still it will be *for you to decide* whether or not you will make the alterations." He (Sir E. Sugden) declared solemnly, that when he heard the noble Earl use these words, his full conviction was, that Lord Grey meant to convey that there would be *no creation of peers*; and that after the second reading the bill would be altogether in the hands and at the discretion of the Lords. For what other sense could be given to the words of the noble Earl, than that it was his intention not to interfere with the House, but leave the bill *entirely to their Lordships' discretion*? (Hear.) But now his firm conviction was, that the Ministers had determined that neither the House of Lords nor that House (the Commons) should in any way modify the bill, otherwise than as they (the Ministers) should think best suited to their own purposes. Did not the country know that the principles of the bill had been altered by the Ministers, without any good reason having been assigned? The qualification had been altered. An alteration had been made in the schedules, both of disfranchisement and of enfranchisement; and in other respects the original bill had been departed from in its most important principles. But these changes were made by the Ministers themselves, and yet they refused to both Houses of Parliament the right to interfere with the bill in any respect. What was the advice which was understood to have been given to the King on the present state of the Reform Bill? Nothing less than to deluge the House of Lords by the creation of sixty or seventy new peers. Was there any man acquainted with the past history, or the present political state of the country, who could for a moment doubt that the adoption of such a course would give to the constitution a fatal stab? What! seventy peers to be brought into that House, pledged to a particular measure? He believed there was not a man of sane mind throughout England, or he might add throughout Europe, who would for a moment hesitate to admit that such a measure would have the instant effect of degrading the House of Lords far below anything which even its worst enemies could devise. He was at a loss to imagine anything more calculated to degrade the House of Peers than the sudden introduction of seventy peers to the House of Lords—introduced, as it was intended they should be, for the purpose of drowning the opinion of the House of Peers. If he were right on the point to which he had just before been alluding, the matter that they had then under their consideration just resolved itself into this,—the late Ministers must have carried

their point, or have been defeated; they had been defeated, and they said to their political adversaries, "You must pass the bill, as we left it to you, and so destroy your own characters for consistency, or you must reject and incur the utmost possible hazard to the country from the state of excitement in which we have left men's minds." He had no difficulty, then, in saying that being in possession of the Government at such a crisis, the noble Lords and right hon. Gentlemen opposite were not justified in abandoning the guidance of public affairs, and leaving the King, the country, and the Legislature in the position in which they had just been placed; they should not have abandoned the Government for the sake of destroying the party opposed to them in politics; neither should they have endeavoured to swamp the House of Lords for any such unworthy purpose. With respect to the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, which had that night been made the subject of so much animadversion, it did, he confessed, appear to him, that the Duke of Wellington was perfectly justified in the course which he had taken—with the prospect before him of seeing the House of Lords swamped, he could scarcely have taken any other—and in the exercise of a sound discretion, and under the influence of an exalted patriotism, he took the commands of his Majesty to form an Administration, and thus at least avoided the evil of destroying the House of Lords. There was one truth, however, established beyond any possibility of dispute, namely, that the present Government of the King found nothing but a choice between two evils. If hon. Members believed, as he did, that the Duke of Wellington *was not influenced* by any desire of place—(a laugh)—he knew how difficult it was to reconcile all opinions and unite all voices—but believing as he did that the Duke of Wellington, as a public man, stood far above all mercenary consideration—above all motives out of a mere desire of place—they must feel that, in accepting office at the present moment, he was making one of the greatest sacrifices which it was in the power of any public man to make for the good of his country. (Cheers from the Tories; laughter among the Whigs.) Yes, he would repeat, that the sacrifices which that noble person made admitted of no limitation or qualification. That which he had done, or was about to do, constituted one of the basest acts of which any man was ever guilty, or an act of the greatest magnanimity and public virtue—an act which, as it would surpass anything that our past history afforded, so it would eclipse the glories of future ages. (Cheers from one side of the House, and great laughter at the other.) He would repeat the expression, and appeal to all impartial men and to posterity for the truth and justice of the sentiments which he thus conscientiously expressed, that the noblest act of his long and distinguished life was the acceptance of office at the present crisis—a crisis so dangerous to the

constitution, and one which carried with it enough of difficulty, delicacy, and hazard, to deter all ordinary minds from grappling with it. Such were his sentiments of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and if they were well founded, and the noble Duke *could not be proved* to have been guilty of the basest and most disgraceful conduct a public man had ever fallen into, *then he should deserve* and receive the universal approbation of all mankind—and more for that than for any act of his public life. (Cheers.)

LORD PALMERSTON—I should certainly not have risen on the present occasion to take any part in the present debate, had I not been personally alluded to by the right hon. and gallant Member for Perthshire. I have been charged with changes of opinion upon great public questions. Against such charges I do feel that no defence is necessary in this House. (Cheers.) I have no difficulty in saying, that I have changed my sentiments, and that I have done so from having become wiser. (Cheers.) With respect to my own public conduct, I should greatly regret being compelled to defend it upon any grounds that might involve an accusation upon others—accusations which it would be no less painful to me to utter than it would be to the right hon. and gallant Member himself to hear. It is known both to the House and the public, that now, for the second time, I have refused office for the sake of preserving the free expression of my opinions, and freedom of action on political questions upon which I felt deeply interested—(cheers);—and that is a fact which might have been known to the right hon. and gallant Member. It might also have been known to him, that it has happened to me, when out of office, to decline the service of the Crown, when I felt that in accepting that service at the particular juncture I incurred the hazard of not being at liberty to assert my own sentiments, as I felt I ought. With respect to the concluding part of the speech of the right hon. and gallant Member, in which he blames the late Administration for having abandoned office at a moment when it was peculiarly their duty to have remained in the service of the Monarch, there was, he believed, not a man in the country who thought that they could, with anything like honour, have remained in power—no men of honour could have done so under the circumstances. We are told that we have been guilty of a violation of the constitution, in the advice given to his Majesty to create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Reform Bill—advice in which I fully participated. Now, I deny altogether that the advice referred to was any violation whatever of the constitution; though, at the same time, I am perfectly ready to admit, that it was advice which should only be given in extreme cases; but what I contend for is, that that extreme case had arrived; and I have no doubt that the whole country, as well as posterity, will ratify that decision. The majority in the House of Lords

against the bill was so large, that it was obviously impossible that we could have remained masters of the measure. The right hon. and gallant Member opposite had stated a declaration made by my noble Friend at the head of his Majesty's Government as to the course which he intended to pursue in the event of the bill having been read a second time in the House of Lords. His declaration was, after the second reading of the first bill had been lost, that he would remain in office so long as there remained a rational prospect of carrying the measure—that pledge he certainly redeemed, for he did not retire from office till all prospect of that sort had totally disappeared. For the purposes of the argument which has been carried on upon the other side, it was said that the division in the House of Lords, which drove the late Administration from office, was a division upon a subject of no real importance; certainly, if it were no matter of moment, there might be something of force in the argument—if it depended upon a mere trifle of legislative pedantry respecting the precedence of one clause over another, then I confess I should not have been the man to complain of any matter of indifference; but I believe that it will be now universally acknowledged by all candid and impartial men, that the division in question was really one of importance, and of the highest importance; for here was a measure upon which the existence of the Government as a Government was staked; and suddenly we find ourselves in such a situation that we lose all command or control over the measure, and we are outvoted by a very large majority of the House of Lords. It is almost instructing the House upon first principles, to tell them that no Government could carry on the business of the country, if it do not possess the confidence of both Houses of Parliament, and yet, in order to answer the arguments from the other side, I am compelled to remind the House of that fact. Really, it is almost too absurd to say that the question upon which the House of Lords divided the other night was not one involving an essential principle. They told us that they would proceed with enfranchisement first, and why?—because we think it may be possible that the necessity for disfranchisement may be greatly diminished or altogether removed; that at all events, a less amount of disfranchisement will suffice. Surely that involves the very principle of the bill—to alter the detailed arrangement for such a purpose, and in such a manner, was to alter its most important principle, for the very essence of the bill was the disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs; failing to carry the principle of disfranchisement, nothing remained for us but resignation. We must have either abandoned the bill or resigned our offices. We had no choice between these two. (Hear, hear, hear.)

SIR G. MURRAY said a few words in explanation, which, owing to the noise that prevailed both in the House and the gallery, it was impossible distinctly to hear; but he was under-

stood to say that the noble Lord opposite had quite misconceived him—that he meant to convey no imputation whatever upon the conduct of the noble Lord.

SIR THOMAS DENMAN was sure that every one would be ready to bear testimony to the able and manly manner in which his hon. and learned Friend opposite had declared his objections to the bill when it was under discussion in that House; and he was also perfectly ready to give his hon. and learned friend full credit for the statement, that he himself in taking office was making a sacrifice—certainly a large sacrifice of income; but he confessed it did not appear to him that similar sacrifices were to be made by others taking office, though the contrary was announced by one who in some sort appeared to represent the phantom Administration existing, or now supposed to exist—who came amongst them like the White Lady of Avenel, to make oracular and mysterious announcements.

MR. A. BAKING said, that he had not spoken from authority—that he had had no communication with an illustrious personage whatever upon the subject of the negotiations now pending.

SIR THOMAS DENMAN certainly so understood the hon. Gentleman. He certainly conveyed to the House that he had had no communication whatever with his Majesty, but that he had had some with the Duke of Wellington. Now that he certainly had considered as pretty high authority. He seemed, however, but little inclined, then, to abide by the statements that he had previously made, and he (Sir T. Denman) could not help congratulating the House upon the candid and conciliating manager which they were likely to have under the new Administration—one likely to put such a charitable and benignant construction upon the conduct of the members of that House. (Loud cheers.) He had been informed but a short time since, that an hon. Friend had described the hon. Gentleman opposite as having spoken of him (Sir T. Denman) as a *mob-courting Attorney-General*; but, oh! said the hon. Gentleman opposite, that happened a long while ago, and he might have said something of the sort, but it was really too hard to call him to account for it, after such a lapse of time; but that was not the only attack made upon him by the hon. Member. He complained of that hon. Member's making it a matter of accusation against the Attorney-General, that he did *not prosecute some atrocious libel upon somebody*, though the alleged libel appeared in a public paper for the first time on the morning of the day upon which he had given in his resignation. (Loud and continued cheering.) Now, he would not ask whether that was generous or handsome; but he would ask was it just? (Hear, hear.) When the proper time came, if come it ever should, when he should be called upon to enter on a defence of his conduct in that House, he should be prepared to demonstrate that it would have been most foolish to have engaged

in such prosecutions as the hon. Member recommended; and that if they had been entered upon and proceeded with, they would have redounded nothing to the credit of those concerned, or to the benefit of the country. There was no one conversant with the administration of justice who did not feel perfectly convinced that *prosecutions were useless, unless when they happened to be in accordance with the state of public opinion*. He believed that, upon the fullest review of his conduct, it would be found that he had prosecuted in every instance in which prosecution was expedient or safe; and he referred to the *Special Commissions* issued while he was in the service of the Crown as evidence of the principles by which his official conduct had been governed. It really seemed as if the hon. Member thought that a libel and an Attorney-General ought not to exist at the same moment. (A laugh.) Much had been said on the subject of the new Government, but he really thought that had as little to do with the topics which the hon. Gentleman opposite introduced—that he might say much of the debating had as little to do with the real matter in hand as had the debates that might at present be going on in the French Chamber of Deputies. (Hear, hear.) In departing from the matter properly under consideration, he regretted to think that some very indiscreet observations had been made—he regretted to think that anything likely to produce irritation should at any time have been uttered—he regretted that any person should have been found *too ready to exhibit the sword*; but of this he felt perfectly assured, that there was not a member of the late Government who would not willingly forego all chance of ever again being employed in the service of the public for the sake of seeing the great measure of reform quietly and peaceably carried. (Hear, hear.) It had been made matter of accusation against the late Government, that they had used the King's name—yes, they had hoped that the King's name would have proved the means of union—would have proved “a tower of strength;” but they had not found it so, *though clothed with full authority for its use*. Without, however, entering any further into personal feelings, he should, were that the last moment of his life, pray that men might take care of themselves, but that the House of Commons might take care of the country and pass the bill. If the bill were sent down to them from the House of Lords un mutilated, the change of the Government was a matter of secondary consideration. The great object was to have the bill passed with the shortest possible delay; and were that object but once accomplished, we could not fail to be one of the most *prosperous, great, happy, and powerful people upon which the sun ever shone*.

MR. A. BAKING—The observation to which the hon. and learned Gentleman alludes was quoted by an hon. Member as having been uttered by me more than twelve months ago. The hon. and learned Gentleman also says,

that I have imputed blame to him for not prosecuting those persons who have been libelling the Queen. Now, I brought no charge against the hon. and learned Gentleman. What I said was, that there was a general tendency to vilify and degrade persons in power; and amongst the rest the royal family, who formerly used to be under the especial protection of the law, but who now seem to have no one to defend them. Whether the Attorney-General ought to prosecute under such circumstances I will not say; but I chiefly quoted it as a specimen of the altered state of the times.

Mr. Alderman WAITHMAN thought, that if the Duke of Wellington had accepted office for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill, it was impossible to quote a stronger instance of *political apostasy*. (Cheers.) The House of Commons, however, he trusted, would be on the alert to protect the people, and to baffle the wretched intrigues that were going on behind the curtain. (Cheers.)

Sir R. INGLIS was nearly inaudible in the gallery. He was understood to say, that to public men character was of the first importance; and as long as the character of public men stood high, the country to which they belonged had great and favourable resources in their integrity; for which reason, to a certain extent, he agreed in the principles which had been laid down by the two noble Lords on the opposite side. For himself, humble as he was, he trusted that he had always borne that in mind; and he was sure that he could confidently state, that, though he had opposed the Reform Bill, he had done so entirely from principle, and not at all from any enmity towards the authors of that measure. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry that so much allusion had been made to the King; and he thought that the House would do well to remember that the Sovereign could only be known through the acts of his Ministers; and it was therefore very unjust to undertake to pronounce upon the opinions of the Crown, when it was not even known who at this moment were its responsible advisers. With respect to the Duke of Wellington, he certainly must say, that if that noble Duke *accepted place with the intention of giving his sanction to reform*, he was doing that which *was wrong*, and *vastly out of keeping* with all his former declarations on the subject. (Cheers.) He would not take upon himself to say what might be the motive—whether it was *ambition*, or whether it was *anything else*—but be it what it might, he thought that there were *no considerations* which, under such circumstances, could justify the noble Duke in taking office (cheers); for it was impossible that there could be any doubt as to his sentiments after the protest and the speeches which he had made upon this subject. (Loud cheers.) But still he thought that the House was somewhat prejudging the question, for it was still left untouched and *unknown whether the noble Duke had conceded this point or not*. (Hear, hear.) The hon. Baronet concluded

by making some comments on Lord Milton's expression relative to loyalty and devotion, requiring no one to yield to the caprice of any man, however high his station; but it was impossible to catch the tenor of the hon. Baronet's observations.

LORD MILTON—The hon. Baronet does not seem exactly to have understood what I said. My expressions were these: I hoped that there was in these realms no human being so high as to induce another to sacrifice to him, through loyalty or devotion, his own solemnly recorded opinion. (Cheers.) And I must say, that I think the hon. Baronet has himself sanctioned by his speech every tittle of that sentiment. (Cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL—I must say, that I have a strong feeling that the House has this evening engaged in a discussion which, for many reasons, is injudicious. (Hear, hear.) We are not in possession of that information which is essential for the purpose of forming a correct judgment on many subjects which have in consequence been argued hypothetically. Now, Sir, I take the liberty of suggesting to the House to consider the position in which the King of this country is placed. His Majesty has recently accepted the resignation of those who were his confidential servants. I can undertake to pronounce no opinion as to the course which they have assumed, because no explanation has been given in detail of the circumstances under which their advice was offered, so as to enable me to form a satisfactory judgment on the course which they have pursued. I certainly infer that the case is this:—that in order to carry a certain measure through the other House of Parliament, the Ministers advised his Majesty to create a number of peers. What that number was I know not. Some say, to an indefinite extent; others have named thirty, forty, sixty, or seventy; but at all events, to such an extent as would have proved fatal to the authority of the House of Lords. (Cheers.) His Majesty declined to accede to that advice; and the consequence is, that the King is now attempting to form another Administration. Now it appears, in the course of these debates on this very day, that there is no one who has authority in this House to speak on the part of that Administration. The hon. Member for Hertford, referring irregularly, but perhaps necessarily, to what has taken place in another house, has told us that there a declaration was made to the effect that another Administration was formed. If the hon. Member himself heard that statement, it is of course unlikely that there can be any mistake on the subject: but it certainly does seem strange that an Administration should be formed, and that there should be no one in this house to give any explanation on the subject. (Hear, hear.) If, therefore, the hon. Member has only spoken from report, I should be inclined to think that that report must be erroneous. If the declaration alluded to was only to the effect that the King was occupied in attempt-

ing to form another Administration, without any explanation as to the principles on which that Administration was to be formed, I put it to the House, whether declarations of determined hostility to a hypothetical Administration are not somewhat premature. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DUNCOMBE—In what I said relative to what has taken place this evening in the House of Lords, I referred to what one of the reporters had taken down. The passage that was read to me was to this effect—that Lord Carnarvon had risen in his place to say that an Administration was formed, except in some of its minor details; after which he went on to move that the order of the day for the Committee on the Reform Bill should be postponed till Thursday, thereby evincing that that bill had now got into other hands.

Sir R. PEEL—The noble Paymaster of the Forces thought proper to refer to me with respect to the course I might pursue at this juncture. Now I will tell the noble Lord fairly, that I do not think that prudence or respect to the House requires me to make any answer to his observations on the present occasion. I think that the noble Lord's reference to me was entirely unnecessary; and I will tell the noble Lord further, that some time ago, when office was not within my reach, I stated that it was no object to me: now that it is within my reach, I will again repeat that observation; so that it will be seen that I claim no credit for any supposed sacrifice. (Hear, hear.) If the noble Lord's inference is correct—that I feel unable to enter into the service of the Crown—I will at all events add this to it—that I bitterly regret that, in the situation in which his Majesty is now placed, I am not able to accept office; and that the greatest regret that attends my refusal of office is the possibility of its affording an opportunity for sarcasm being pointed by contrast against those who feel themselves able to join the new Administration. (Cheers from the Ministerial side.) Whatever course my noble Friend (the Duke of Wellington) may pursue—whether or no I may be able to pursue that course too—this I will say, that I never felt a more perfect confidence of anything in my life than that course (be it what it may) will be dictated by the highest courage and the purest sense of honour that ever influenced the actions of any public man, either in accepting or in retiring from office. (Hear, hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL—I can assure the right hon. Baronet that in what I said I had no intention of casting any imputation on him whatever. On the contrary, it was my sincere belief, when addressing the House, that the right hon. Baronet was not going to accept office; and, therefore, the words that I used could not be intended as any reproach to him. I conceive that the right hon. Baronet is much too careful of his public fame to accept office under present circumstances. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HUME—Sir, I wish to put a question to you, which seems to me of no little import-

ance. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the address of this House has been presented to the King; and if any answer whatever to that address has been made? Four days have now elapsed since that address was voted. The House, it appears, knows nothing of the matter; and it will be extremely satisfactory if you, Sir, are able to give us any information of any answer that may be expected.

The SPEAKER—The only explanation that I am able to offer is, that the address was transmitted, and that it has come to the hands of the King's establishment, into whose hands such addresses are usually delivered, for the purpose of being presented. The reason for there not being any answer to that address at the present moment I can only guess at like the hon. Member, or any other gentleman. It may be that the King feels that, *not having responsible Ministers*, it is better to delay his answer. For any certain reason, however, the hon. Member must not ask me; for I do not know more about the matter than any other Member of this House. I only know that the address was sent to his Majesty's household—that it is in the hands of the King—or that at least he is apprised of it.

Mr. HUME—Am I to understand that the address of the 10th of May is not yet in the hands of the King?

The SPEAKER—The hon. Member must be aware that I am utterly unable to answer that question; and if he draws the inference that I mean so and so, I beg to inform him that I meant nothing but to assure him and the House that the address was regularly conveyed in the usual manner—that I have no doubt that it is in the proper channel—and that I presumed the reason for there being no answer yet, was the difficulty that there is as to the channel through which that answer is to be conveyed.

The Earl of BELFAST said a few words, which were very indistinctly heard. His Lordship was understood to confirm the statement of the Speaker.

The question was then put, "that the petition be brought up."—Motion agreed to.

The next question was, "that the petition be read." On which

Lord EBRINGTON rose. After the allusion that has been made to me personally in the course of this discussion, I trust that I may be permitted to trouble the House with a very few words. The right honourable and gallant officer who spoke early in the debate, and who I am sorry not now to see in his place. (Here Sir H. Hardinge, to whom the noble Lord was alluding, resumed his seat.) The right honourable and gallant officer has charged me with having made an attack on the Duke of Wellington for a breach of public morality. I beg, however, to say, that I only put an hypothetical case: and upon that case I stated, as I now state, that if it is true and correct, I can apply no milder term to the Duke's conduct. The noble Duke's friends are under a mistake if they suppose that there is anything

in his great name, in his high situation, or even in his eminent service—which no one is more ready gratefully to acknowledge than myself—I say the noble Duke's friends are much mistaken if they suppose that there is anything in these circumstances which can screen his character, as a public man, from undergoing the same investigation, from being subject to the same discussion, from being judged on the same principles, and from being decided upon on the same grounds with those of every other public man in this country. (Cheers.) Sir, it is with this freedom and in this manner that I shall always assert my right as an independent Member of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I trust that I shall always do so with the respect that is due to this House, and in language belonging to myself as a gentleman; and, indeed, I trust that I am not in the habit of bringing any charge against my political opponents in any other language, notwithstanding what the honourable Member for Thetford has been pleased to lay to my charge. That honourable Gentleman has thought proper to read me a lesson with respect to my supposed want of common decency, for such, I think, were the words that he presumed to apply to me. (Cheers.) Sir, I will not bandy such terms backwards and forwards with the honourable Gentleman, but he must allow me to say, that if there is any one in this House to whom I should be disposed to apply such language, it would be to him (hear, hear,)—rising this night, as he has done, to make a tardy defence of political inconsistency, (cheers,) on the part of himself or others, when I have heard him, time after time, in this House, raking up speeches made ten or twenty years ago, together with extracts from pamphlets; and, on the strength of these, applying to my noble Friend terms of vituperation—(loud cheering),—which, until this Reform Bill was introduced, I never heard applied by anybody, in the greatest heat of political party, to any Minister of the Crown. Gentlemen seem this evening to have argued as if there was no alternative to be adopted by the noble Duke, except either admitting a forced creation of peers by the King, or accepting the government of the country and dragging the Lords to the passing of the bill. But, Sir, is there no third course? (Loud cheering.) Is it absolutely necessary that those who have so deeply pledged themselves against the bill, should now be compelled to eat their words? (Hear, hear.) I wish that the right hon. Bart., or any person not liable to any imputations, would show how it can be settled. If the noble Duke himself could stand up and say that the impossibility he finds to conduct the affairs of the country would make him use all his influence among his friends to pass the measure, he would succeed, no doubt, in putting an end to further discussion. (Hear, hear.) I will not say when that should be done, or when it would come too late. If a course of that description had been adopted

within the last few days, even within the last forty-eight hours, much peril would have been avoided to the country. The character of the noble Duke would have stood a great deal higher, and he would have entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the country. At the same time the character and conduct of the House of Lords would not be subject, as under other circumstances they would, to *lasting execration*. (Loud cheers.)

MR. BARING—I hope the House will excuse me for again obtruding myself upon its notice, after what has fallen from the noble Lord. I can assure the noble Lord and the hon. Attorney-General that the look and tone which it has pleased them to assume—the taunts they have thrown out (cheers), shall not make me swerve from my opinion, or prevent me from fearlessly discharging my duty in this House. (Hear, hear.) The noble Lord—but he said so many things that I hardly recollect what I should first reply to, (some hon. Member whispered Mr. Baring)—yes, if the noble Lord, getting up with a high hand, using expressions in the course of the discussion implying that I am disentitled to the ordinary courtesy of the House—if the noble Lord chooses to make me the butt to that sort of expressions, I can only tell the noble Lord that I hold them in utter contempt. (Cheers.) From the time I have been in the House, I am sure that my reputation will not suffer from any such personal observations on account of a difference of opinion. (Cheers.) With the leave of the House, I will say a little on the question notwithstanding. The objections I made to the course lately adopted, is the same as that stated by my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel), viz. that the subject is not yet ripe for discussion. (Hear.) Respecting the conduct of the late Government, I avow that my opinions are made up; but the House has no evidence; it cannot know whom the Crown has employed to defend it. It is premature then to entertain the subject at present; but whatever situation I may stand in towards the House, when it can be fairly discussed, I shall fearlessly state my opinion. As to what the hon. Gentleman said about my inconsistency, or the inconsistency of a much greater man—for the Duke of Wellington, how ever much *some people might now scoff at him*, had a great debt of gratitude owing to him by the country—I must say that neither he nor I have altered our opinions. We do not now say that the Reform Bill, which we described as a bad bill, *is a good bill*. I do not hold any such opinion, and we (*a laugh*) have not changed. I am confident that we cannot be accused of *inconsistency*. The case stands thus:—In the opinion of the King, the Crown feels itself forced to feel certain scruples, and these scruples will not allow him to do what is desired of him. It will not be said that these scruples, at least, are not *reasonable scruples*. The noble Lord at the head of the Ministry stated himself repeatedly that the measure, about

which the Crown has scruples, he should take with reluctant—no, that was a weak term—but with the greatest repugnance. If that were felt by the noble Earl—and no man doubted his integrity—surely the scruples of the Crown were entitled to some respect. (Hear, hear.) I know, that under whatever circumstances, the name of the Crown and of the King is introduced in this House, it is unconstitutional; but, at present, it was impossible to do otherwise. The Crown had no confidential advisers in the House to make known its resolutions. A conflict had taken place between the Crown and its confidential advisers, and therefore at present the King had no confidential advisers. The King did not choose to comply with the advice his servants had given, and the Ministers had resigned. I ask the House to consider what is the situation of the King when his Ministers have resigned. These scruples deserve some respect, and when the House recollected the persecution which those were exposed to out of doors and in that House who entertained these scruples, it was extraordinary that anybody should be found to give advice to the Crown. The act was not done under ordinary circumstances, for every man must be aware of the excessive excitement which pervades the country. It might be fairly supposed that no man would go to the Sovereign, but that the Sovereign would call upon some person to give him advice in the dilemma in which he is placed. I suppose I do not know what passed, but I suppose that the King might have called for some person, and might have said to him, “Since I found that the Government could not be otherwise carried on, I made a pledge to my people, which I will not give up, but at the same time, I am so placed, that I cannot admit, according to the constitution, that the other branch of the legislature should be forced to agree with the Commons unless some very strong case should arise, and I do not see that any case has yet arisen in which I can fairly be called on to interfere.” Suppose the Duke of Wellington was the person so called upon—he says, “I cannot help myself, I do not admit the principles of this bill, but am I therefore, as a consequence of that, to treat the King’s commands with neglect, and refuse to pass the bill; or am I to advise him to pass the bill, and support the King, in advising what all admit to be the greatest violence to the constitution?” I doubt not but the noble Duke might have come to some such conclusion; and what man can doubt the honesty and integrity of the noble Duke, or throw any suspicions on his consistency? I do not, any more than I doubt that the noble Duke possesses much of that courage which enables a man to resist taunts, and sneers, and sarcasms. (Cheers and laughter.) Against such sneers and sarcasms I shall support my opinion; and I have no doubt that the noble Duke would have courage to meet such sarcasms, and support the King in that

conflict in which he is involved, because he does not choose to endanger the constitution by committing a fatal violence on one part of it. That is, I take it, an honest view; and I shall say sincerely, that the noble Duke, without changing his mind—not seeing anything in the bill to approve of, but seeing the state of excitement in the country—seeing the danger to which it might lead, supposing nothing else would end it—might resolve to stand by the King in this dilemma, and expose himself to all the difficulties of the situation, for the purpose of protecting his Sovereign. That appears to me to have been the course, and that the noble Duke would not interfere to give his advice to the King till the King sent for him. I will say one word as to the necessity of such a resolution as was come to by his Majesty’s Ministers. If the Ministers of the Crown had waited, they might have ascertained, in 48 hours after the peers had given their vote, whether it was the intention of the peers by that vote to defeat the bill, or whether they meant to vote for the whole disfranchisement of schedule A. Upwards of one half of the peers who voted against the Ministers stated their intention of voting for schedule A. Now schedule A was the key-stone of the bill; and when that was the case, could the King not say, “The time is not arrived when I can be called on to exercise my prerogative: do not come to me with a vague report of what the peers may do; put their intentions to the test—wait 48 hours, and see if they will vote for schedule A.” It should be recollected that the bill was safe in the Ministers’ hands after the vote of the peers. It could always be reinstated if injured, and it was the same as if the bill were actually in danger. I shall state fairly that I have had many opportunities of knowing the opinions of the opposition peers, and I shall mention what I know of their opinions of schedule A. One of those peers, who had a principal hand in managing the opposition to the bill, told me, that he had no doubt that the peers would pass the whole of schedule A. “My opinion is (said he), after making my calculation—I will mention no names—my opinion is, that there will not be twenty votes against schedule A.” (Hear.) That was before the question between the King and his Ministers had become the subject of public notice; and it was told me by one of the noble Lords who was undertaking the opposition to the bill. The measure then proposed by the Ministers was only to be resorted to in extreme cases; but there were no circumstances to justify such a measure, and the Ministers would not wait 48 hours to put to the test the opinions of the peers. The noble Lord said, he feared that there was no hope of accommodating these differences. I have had long experience in this House, and I never once saw a case in which the constitution was exposed to hazard, when the whole body of the landed gentlemen did not interfere as mediators, and bring out some understanding on the matter.

The noble Lord says, or at least his words, I think, bear that construction, that he should be glad if anything could be done to give an approach even to such a proposal; and that if the peers would vote schedule A, that might induce the Ministers of the Crown to relax in their determination, and not to advise that which they only thought a less evil than not risking the measure. I should think myself, that if Lord Grey goes back to the King, and stating his unwillingness to employ those means which he had already admitted he entertained a great repugnance to perform, and stating that he expected, with great probability, that the Lords would not differ from him, except as to the details of the bill—if Lord Grey would so state to the King, I see no difficulty of the Ministers again taking their places. (Hear, hear.) I do not see any objection to this. (Hear, and laughter.) It is with entire sincerity that I state this. I say that I wish not to interfere in any administration, and particularly in an administration formed under the very difficult circumstances in which the country is now placed. To me, who never wished for public life, it would be a fatal thing, and nothing but the most urgent necessity should ever tempt me to take office in any shape. The hon. Gentlemen whom I followed for twenty-five years, know that I never asked them for any place whatever. (Hear, hear.) I shall not, therefore, be thought a person ready to do anything rash or base for the purpose of obtaining place. (Hear, hear.) I shall state, that it would be with the very greatest reluctance that I should undertake any office, and that reluctance, great at any time, must be doubly great at undertaking it when I know, instead of having the house of Commons at my command, what opposition I should meet with, making it a place of the greatest difficulty. At the same time, feeling the strength of my cause—feeling, in fact, that I ought not to abandon the King—there is no peril, no danger, no difficulty, I would not encounter, and nothing I would not undertake, which I thought conscientiously it was my duty, as an honest man, to undertake. (Cheers.) But, as I said before, it would be much for the good of the country if the present administration were not dissolved. That they should quit office would be one of the greatest calamities possible. When the bill should be passed (cheers), which has excited so many expectations in the country (hear, hear), it was expected, as the result, as he learned from the canvas going on for the county of Kent, that it would lead to some great blessings. It would be very unfortunate for the Government which should be in office, when the expectations of the great advantages raised by this bill—the extreme anticipations—shall be disappointed. (Hear, hear.) The public will then say, that if the reform Government had remained in something more would have been given to us. (Hear, hear, from Mr. Hunt.) If I were looking to public life—and I am looking only to retirement—but if I were looking to public

life, the best thing I should desire would be, to form part of an administration to succeed the present Ministers. (Hear, hear.) We have heard much of the blessings to be derived from this bill. But when the disappointment comes, that will give any succeeding administration which may want it an easy triumph; if any man—for example, my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel)—who finds it as difficult to keep out of office as ordinary persons find it to thrust themselves in, were ever so desirous of power, and possessed even of a grain of common sense, he could not wish to get into place at this crisis. I shall state, that individuals might with advantage try to diminish the breach between the Crown and its Ministers; and I am not without hopes, from what fell from the noble Lord, that some communication would be made to his Majesty, that his Majesty might be relieved from that which he so much deprecated, and which was known by one word—swamping the Peers. It is not possible to deny that the bill may pass, that schedule A may receive the assent of the peers; and if the peers do not refuse to pass schedule A, there is nothing to justify the Ministers in giving up. I find myself in a peculiar situation, and I make this statement to the house with perfect sincerity; and if I could assist in bringing about a settlement without any injury to the constitution, I can assure the house that it would be one of the happiest moments of my life. (Cheers.)

Lord ERRINGTON said a few words, which were not audible in the gallery.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT had heard with great satisfaction what had fallen from the honourable Gentleman. He acknowledged that the hon. Gentleman had given an opinion to which he attached great weight, and that what he said was the usual mode of proceeding under ordinary circumstances. Nobody felt more strongly than he did those unpleasant circumstances; but that they had arrived was not the fault in the least of his Majesty's Ministers. They were placed in a situation in which he must say they could do no otherwise. Of all the duties of public men, none was more imperative than that of preserving their character and honour, for, without preserving them, they could not be of service to the public. He did not doubt his Majesty's good intentions nor the candour of the royal mind, neither did he doubt that his Majesty was placed in circumstances of exceeding difficulty; and not doubting either the candour of the royal mind nor the difficulty of the Royal situation, he was sure, if his Majesty found it difficult to decide, he must also be sensible of the difficult circumstances of his Ministers; and he could not be astonished that they should have resigned, nor could he find in their having done so any cause of complaint. Under these circumstances, he trusted and hoped that means would be found of procuring the success of that bill, without any useless discussion, when, under the circumstances of the country, its final success was inevitable.

He could not see anything which should destroy his hopes. The Royal mind was open to reason. The King had no private views; he never had any. He had always said to his Ministers, Do what you think right, without considering me; do what is for the good of the country, and let that be your only guide. The King wished nothing but the prosperity of the people; and only thought how their benefit might be promoted. He was sorry to see such a Sovereign deprived, by a misapprehension, of the affections of his people, to which he was altogether entitled. The hon. Gentleman, who had just sat down, said that the Duke of Wellington considered himself called upon, at the sacrifice of some part of his high character, in the dilemma in which the country was placed, to give some advice required by his regard for the public safety, which he otherwise did not approve of. That noble Duke was solicitous for the public good. If, then, there were other persons of a different disposition, low and factious intriguers, who had interfered between the nation and the Crown, the nation would know how to treat them. They were not answerable for the consequences, for they were unknown. Men owed their first allegiance to themselves, and it was impossible for Lord Grey to submit to have his bill taken out of his hands by the House of Lords without resigning, and preserve that high sense of honour which was due to himself. Whatever might be said of the factious band of the House of Lords (order, and cheers), they, it must be allowed, if they were not factious, were the most short-sighted men that ever existed, to risk the tranquillity of the country, and everything that ought to be dear to them, in order to preserve their own peculiar privileges, which were hostile to the welfare of the people. (Hear, hear, hear.) The honourable Gentleman said, that there was no doubt that the Lords would have adopted schedule A; and the honourable Gentleman said, very properly, that it was one of the principles of the bill. The right honourable Baronet, too (Sir Robert Peel), had admitted that it was one of the principles of the bill; and if the Lords would have consented to that, as was stated, how easily might all these difficulties have been avoided! Let it, however, be remembered that the Duke of Wellington concurred in the vote for postponing schedule A; and if he were now convinced that the bill must be passed, he had shown, at least, such a want of foresight, as did not entitle him to claim to direct the councils of the country, under the present difficult circumstances. If the Duke of Wellington were Prime Minister, it would not be sufficient to say that he would pass the bill—an investigation must take place into all the circumstances which had occurred. He looked upon the Duke of Wellington as answerable from his accession to office, and responsible for all the consequences which might follow. (No, no! laughter.)

His Majesty could take no step by himself and unadvised. His Majesty did nothing without the advice of his Ministers. The Sovereign was not responsible, but his public servants were responsible for the consequences of every change. The noble Lord (Ebrington) had justly said that the conduct of the Lords in not passing the bill had caused great inconvenience—in his opinion they had risked the safety and tranquillity of the country. These were the sentiments of the whole nation; there was hardly one who was not satisfied that the Lords had by their conduct stopped the progress of all public business, and interrupted the whole course of legislation. He had always maintained the propriety of that old portion of the prerogative, which gave his Majesty the power of issuing writs to some places which were increasing in importance, and of not issuing writs to places which had fallen into decay. He believed that portion of the prerogative to have been highly necessary; and if it had been continued in exercise, he was confident the two Houses of Parliament would not have got into that state in which they now found themselves. That power was, however, now denied to the Crown; and he saw much to regret in the denial. He was not aware that it would be an illegal exercise of the prerogative. He knew not the act or the statute in which the interdiction was to be found; but supposing the general feeling, from one cause or another, to be against its exercise, then he would ask in what way were they to escape from a difficulty such as that in which they found themselves, unless by having recourse to the old prerogative of creating peers. If no other way could be found, then he would maintain that the prerogative would be justly and properly exercised in the creation of new peers, rather than run the risk of throwing the country into confusion. (Hear.) There was one thing connected with the present position of affairs to which he wished shortly to allude. A judge, one of the highest in the land, a criminal judge of the most eminent station, had appeared on all occasions as a violent politician. (Hear.) He would contend that a judge, and still more a criminal judge, should hold himself utterly cut off from politics, and from the conflicts of party. He would suppose this noble person sitting on the bench, administering justice; he would suppose that a stranger entered the noble Lord's court in the morning, and that he saw much reason to admire the calm dignity and self-possession with which the noble Baron dispensed justice to the suitors. What, he would ask, would that same stranger have said, had he seen the noble Baron in the evening? (Hear.) How much surprised would he not have been to see the noble Baron turned into a political partisan, and heading in the House of Lords a violent and virulent faction? (Hear.)

Lord STORMONT rose, amid some confusion and cries of "Order," and "Bar," to

remind the hon. Bart. that he was outstepping the ordinary roles of debate. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman in the chair whether the mention of the members of the other House had not, in all cases, been held sacred. He would put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether such a use of the word faction was not unparliamentary in that House, and whether it had not always been the wish, as well as the practice, of its members to avoid applying to the members of the other House expressions which they would regard as a violation of privilege, if applied to the members of the Commons.

The SPEAKER, thus called on, said, that if the hon. Bart. was putting a case hypothetically, and adhered to his hypothesis, he could not be pronounced out of order; but it certainly would be disorderly to draw a picture of what the hon. Bart. believed to have occurred. The hon. Bart. was out of order, in his opinion, if he applied to the members of the other House expressions which would not have been consistent with the courtesies of the House if applied to the members of the House of Commons.

Sir F. BURDETT said he was not aware of having said anything disorderly. He was merely talking of a disease, to which, he believed, the members of both Houses were equally liable (cheers); and, he repeated, he was not aware that he had violated the order of the House by alluding to it.

The SPEAKER interrupted the hon. Baronet, and observed that he had permitted the expressions originally to pass unnoticed, because he believed them to have been uttered in the warmth of debate; but it by no means followed that because he had allowed the disorderly expressions to pass unnoticed once, that he was to continue to do so ever after. (Hear, hear.) To ascribe motives, was, at all times, disorderly; and nothing could be more so than to speak of a member of the other House as the leader of a faction. Called on as he had been, he could not avoid interfering, and if he had not done so before, it was because he believed the words to have been spoken inadvertently, in the heat of debate, and he wished to let them pass, lest, like many other things of the same description, they should derive an importance from being noticed, which would not otherwise attach to them. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Sir F. BURDETT resumed, and observed, that he had been anxious to avoid all appearance of warmth on the occasion. He was merely speaking of that which he thought he had a right, nay that it was his duty, to mention—the conduct of a judge. (Hear, hear.) He was speaking, as it was his duty to do, of the effect of intrigues, he knew not by whom carried on; and among the other misfortunes of their situation, he had alluded to a judge. He did not call him the leader of a faction, but the leader of a party—the maker and un-maker of administrations—(hear, hear)—a man who was seen everywhere—(hear, hear,

and a laugh)—who seemed to have under his legal robes the motley dress of a harlequin—(hear, hear, and a laugh)—a man, in short, who was everything and every person—who seemed to be all mankind's epitome—(a laugh)—and who was in expectance, by his mauceuvres, of reaching the very highest office in the state. This is what he had been speaking of as an event to be deplored. (Hear, hear.) There seemed, however, to be a rumour, a sort of miscreated rumour (hear, and a laugh), that an administration under such circumstances and auspices could not be formed, and if anything was to happen in the present state of the country, such was the condition to which they were reduced, that it was hard to know to whom, in such a case, the King was to apply. This, then, was the situation to which they were reduced by the unfortunate opposition to the bill. Those who had been thus far so successful seemed, however, to be frightened at their own work. He might say, in the language of the Poet—

“For 'tis the sport to have the engineer
Hoist with his own petar”—

(cheers); and it should rejoice all those who were friendly to reform to see its opponents undone by the fulfilment of their wishes. (Hear, hear.)

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

WHEELER, G., late of Acre-lane, Clapham, livery-stable-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

AGLIO, A., Smedley, dealer and chapman.

BEARD, J., Pool Quay, Montgomeryshire, wharfinger.

BENNETT, W., Lostock, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

CORRICK, A. S., Bristol, timber-merchant.

DEAN, G., Maidstone, tallow-chandler.

DE LLANO, P., and P. Rull, Liverpool, merchants.

FRANCIS, T., late of Liverpool, builder.

FORD, J., Bath, bookseller.

GOWLAND, E., late of Great Dover-street, Southwark, apothecary.

GROUTAGE, J., Strand, fishmonger.

HALSEY, W. H., Bermondsey-street, Southwark, tea-dealer.

HENSON, W., Worcester, lace-manufacturer.

HIRST, W., J., and W. jun., Gomersal, Yorkshire, merchants.

JACKSON, T., Old George-street, Southwark, fruit-salesman.

KENTON, J., High-st., Poplar, linen-draper.

POWELL, J., Newent, Gloucestershire, grocer.

STEWART, J. M., Cornhill, master mariner.
 WILMINGTON, W. jun., Millborne Port,
 Somersetshire, glove-manufacturer.
 WOOD, J., Horsham, Sussex, dealer in
 earthenware.
 WORTHY, J. G., Alphington, Devon, corn-
 factor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

FORREST, J., Baldarrach, distiller.

TUESDAY, MAY 15, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CLARKE, G., Blackburn, Lancashire, shop-
 keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, J., Cockermouth, Cumberland,
 slate-manufacturers.
 BURGESS, D., Old Cavendish-st., jeweller.
 BURGIN, F., Stafford, tanner.
 COLBORNE, B., Walcot, Somersetshire,
 carver and gilder.
 COPLAND, S., Cornhill, baker.
 FULLER, T. sen., T. jun., and W., Lewes,
 carriers.
 HALSEY, W. H., Bermondsey-st., Tooley-
 street, tea-dealer.
 HULME, E., Piccadilly, hatter.
 MANN, J. H., Charles-street, St. James's-
 square, Westminster, scrivener.
 MILLER, T., Croydon, grocer.
 PARKER, C., Bredon, Worcestershire, horse-
 dealer.
 PEARSON, J., Wigginton, Yorkshire, tanner.
 PHILLIPS, T. J., Newport, Monmouthshire,
 scrivener.
 SALMON, H. T., Oxford-st., tallow-chandler.
 SHIRLEY, S., Basinghall-street, Blackwell-
 hall-factor.
 VICKERY, J., Bristol, corn-dealer.
 WARREN, S., Burton-upon-Trent, chemist.
 WYER, S., Kidderminster, plumber.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ARNOTT, W., Perth, merchant.
 FLEMING, J., Glasgow, baker.
 GRAY, J., Edinburgh, spirit-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 14.—
 We have had good supplies of English, Irish,
 Scotch, and foreign wheat: of English, Scotch,
 and Irish oats and flour, as also English and
 Scotch malt, barley, beans, peas, and seeds,
 from all quarters, our supplies have been but
 limited.

This day's market was well attended both
 by London and country buyers; but, as the
 drooping state of both our provincial and the
 continental markets, together with the abun-
 dance of the supply, had induced most of these

to press for abatements that were not submit-
 ted to, the trade was throughout very dull;
 with fine wheat, beans, and peas, as also malt
 and flour, at fully—with barley, oats, middling
 and inferior wheat, seeds, rye, and barley, at
 barely—last Monday's quotations.

Wheat	53s. to 67s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
Boilers	35s. to 38s.
Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 29s.
Poland	24s. to 27s.
Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.
 Sides, new ... 48s. to 52s.
 Pork, India, new ... 130s. 0d. to —s.
 Pork, Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
 Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to —s. per cwt.
 Carlow ... 70s. to 80s.
 Cork ... 80s. to 82s.
 Limerick ... 80s. to —s.
 Waterford ... 70s. to —s.
 Dublin ... 66s. to 68s.
 Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 74s.
 Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 62s.
 Gloucester, Single ... 42s. to 56s.
 Edam ... 49s. to 54s.
 Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.
 Hams, Irish ... 64s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD.—May 14.

This day's supply of beasts was good, both
 as to numbers and quality; of each kind of
 small stock but limited. The trade, with
 prime small mutton, lamb, and veal, was
 somewhat brisk, at an advance of from 2d. to
 4d. per stone, with beef and pork dull, at
 Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,701; sheep and lambs, 16,050;
 calves, 130; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 18.

The arrivals this week are large. The mar-
 ket very dull, and 1s. per quarter cheaper than
 on Monday, with very little business doing.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	83½	83½	83½	84½	84½	84½

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